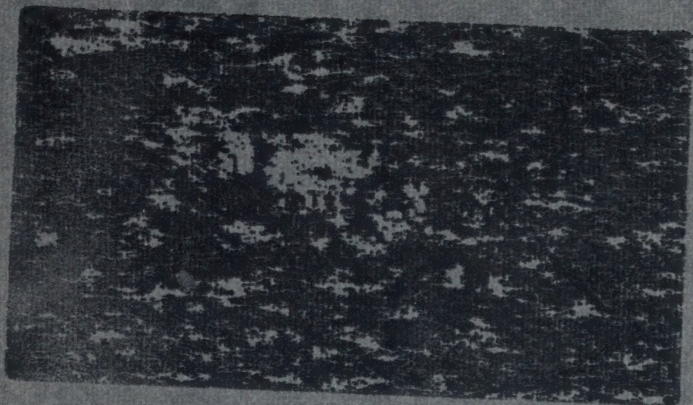


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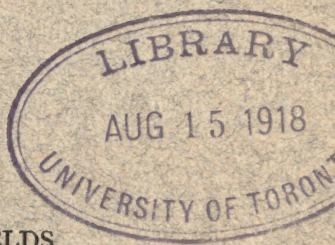
THE CULTS OF LESBOS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

EMILY LEDYARD SHIELDS



The Collegiate Press

GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

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INTRODUCTION

S. L. Plehn, in his *Lesbiacorum Liber*, Berlin, 1826, pp. 115-120, wrote a short section entitled *Res Sacrae*. Although Plehn made a very careful collection of the literary evidence, he had very little epigraphical or numismatic material at his disposal. But in recent years the number of Lesbian inscriptions has been many times increased by the *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Lesbi Nesi Tenedi*, William Paton, Berlin, 1899; by *Unedierte Inschriften von Mytilene*, Petros N. Papageorgiu, Leipzig, 1900; by 'Ανέκδοτοι Ἐπιγραφαὶ Λέσβου, Ἐμμανουὴλ Δαυτῖδ, Mytilene, 1913; and by other publications appearing from time to time in the daily newspapers of Greek cities.¹ The coins of the island are unusually beautiful and varied in type. Of those published in *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, Joseph Eckhel, Leipzig, 1792-1828, and in *Description de Médailles antiques grecques et romaines*, Mionnet, Paris, 1806-1808, Plehn made good use. But since that time there have appeared the *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum—Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*, Warwick Wroth, London, 1894; *Historia Numorum*, Barclay V. Head, Oxford, 1911; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, University of Glasgow, George Macdonald, 1901; and many publications in the journals of numismatics.² Not only have these collections of material been made, but during the last fifty years or so important books about Lesbos, of an archaeological, historical and topographical nature have been written. Among these should be named, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, C. T. Newton, London, 1865; *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, A. Conze, Hanover, 1865; *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, Robert Koldewey, Berlin, 1890, which treat of the antiquities. For history, most valuable are *Rom und Mytilene*, Conrad Cichorius, Leipzig, 1888; and *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos im vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Hans Pistorius, Bonn, 1913. The books dealing with topography, description and modern life are most numerous of all, but are only indirectly related to the subject of the ancient cults.³ For a clearer understanding of the legends and worship of the gods

¹ For a complete list of these publications of inscriptions see 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1913, pp. 220-1.

² Reference will be made to these later as the material is required.

³ For a list of these books of travel see R. Koldewey, *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, pp. 1-2.

of Lesbos much work has been done in various articles of Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie and in Roscher's Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie, and in Lewis R. Farnell's Cults of the Greek States, Oxford, 1896-1909. But as no account of the Lesbian cults as a whole has been published since Plehn's work ninety years ago, it has seemed worth while to make a special study of them. And yet, even now only a beginning has been made in the collection of material; and excavations will one day reveal how insignificant is our present supply of information. Especially do we lack evidence for the sixth and fifth centuries, since the literary passages relate principally to the myths, while the earliest inscription on stone dates from the beginning of the fourth century, and the coins with divinities as types are from the middle of the fifth century or later. The date of excavation, however, cannot at present be foretold. And so it does not seem advisable to wait during an uncertain length of time for the gathering of a complete store of information. Enough is already gained to show that the Lesbian cults were many of them peculiarly interesting.

As the situation and prosperity of the island, the original home of the inhabitants, their relations with other peoples, and their character, mental and moral, all exerted a great influence doubtless on the religion, these topics will be treated briefly, in order to make clearer the religious history.

Lesbos, called by Strabo *νήσος ἡ Λέσβος λόγου ἀξία πλείστον*, lies south of Troas, at the mouth of the Gulf of Adramyttium. Only a narrow channel separates it from Asia Minor on the north and east, so narrow that Methymna was only sixty stades distant from the shore of the continent at Assus.⁴ Also the island commands an important position near the mouth of the Hellespont; and with its fleets, which were from early times important, it could control much of the traffic by sea from the region of the Pontus.⁵ Even in Homer we learn that it afforded a port for those making the voyage from the Troad to Greece.⁶ And to the great corn producing region of the Euxine Lesbos, as well as Athens, could look for a great part of its grain supply.⁷ Yet the island itself was very fertile, and especially

⁴ Strabo, XIII, 616.

⁵ Cf. Hdt. VI, 5. Histiaeus with eight ships from Lesbos took all the ships that sailed out of the Pontus, except such as were willing to submit to him.

⁶ Od. III, 169 f.

⁷ Thuc. III, 2; I. G. XII, ii, 3. Cf. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, p. 576; Pistorius, Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos, pp. 44 f.; English Historical Review, 1914, pp. 125 f.

in the western part produced much wheat.⁸ The grape and the olive abounded.⁹ Diodorus says,¹⁰ "The islands, exposed to the winds and supplying healthful air to the inhabitants and producing fruits, rejoiced in plenty and soon made those who lived there blessed. For this reason they were also called the Islands of the Blessed (*Διὸ καὶ Μακάρων ὠνομάσθησαν νῆσοι*), the abundance of good things giving rise to the appellation."

Besides Macaria, of which mention has just been made, many other names and epithets were given to Lesbos in antiquity, indicative of its nature and importance. Such are *Λέσβον ἑυκτιμένην*, Il. IX, 129;¹¹ *Μάκαρος ἔδος*, Il. XXIV, 544; *Λέσβος τ' ἡγαθή*, Hymn to Apollo, III, 37; *Λέσβος ἐραννά*, Moschus, III, 90; *Λέσβω ἐν εὐδένδρῳ*, C. I. G. II, 3019; *οἶνηρῆς Λέσβοιο*, Anth. Pal. VII, 501; *Λέσβον ἐς εὖοιον*, Athen. (Hermesianax) XIII, 598c; *Λέσβον ἐριστάφυλον*, Athen. (Archestratus) III, 92d; *Μάκαρος πόλιν*, Strabo, VIII, 356; *σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ μητρόπολις . . . τῶν Αἰολικῶν πόλεων*, Strabo XIII, 616;¹² *Λέσβου τ' εὐρυχόριοι*, Dionys. Orbis Descr. 537; *πασέων δ' ἐστὶν αἰδοδοτάτη*, Stobaeus (Phanocles) Flor. 64, 14; *ιερῇ Λέσβῳ*, *ibidem*; *ἐν Λέσβῳ κλεινῆς Ἑρέσου περικύμονος μαστῶ*, Athen. III, 111 f.; *περιρρύτῳ Ἴσση*, Lycophron, Cass. 219;¹³ *inclita . . . Lesbos*, Petron. Sat. 133, 3.

There is evidence to show that the island in early times had other names. Pliny¹⁴ says that it was called Himerte et Lasia, Pelasgia, Aegira, Aethiope,¹⁵ Macaria. According to Callimachus it was called Mytonis from Myton, son of Poseidon.¹⁶ Others give the names Issa, Antissa.¹⁷ These evidently originated from characteristics of Lesbos or from names of places from which the Lesbians came. Plehn¹⁸ believed that Lesbos was called Aethiope because of Myrina,

⁸ Athen. (Archestratus) III, 111 f.

⁹ Cf. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*; Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. V, 82. Interesting in this connection is Hesychius, s. v. *ἡλίσσιον μακάρων νῆσος* . . . ὅπου οὐ διαλύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων αἱ ψυχαί. καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον εἶναι, οἱ δὲ περὶ Λέσβον.

¹¹ See also Od. IV, 342 and XVII, 133.

¹² Cf. Strabo, XIII, 622 and Eustath. Dion. Per. 536, *εὐρύχορος . . . μητρόπολις δὲ τῶν Αἰολικῶν*.

¹³ Cf. Cicero's description, De Leg. Agr. II, 16, 40, *agri iucundi et fertiles*.

¹⁴ Pliny, N. H. V, 139.

¹⁵ Cf. Epithet *εἰμερτώ* in I. G. XII, ii, 313. Hesych. s. v. *Αἰθιοψὶς ὁ Λέσβιος*.

¹⁶ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μυτιλήνη*.

¹⁷ Strabo, I, 60; Eustath. Dion. Per. 536.

¹⁸ See Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, pp. 3-4 for the origin of the names.

queen of the Amazons,¹⁹ who is said to have conquered it. For the Amazons, according to Zenothemis, lived in Aethiopia.²⁰ It is much more probable that the name was Aethopie and that it was given because of *Αἰθόπιον*, a region near the Euripus,²¹ from which we know that some of the early colonists came. A detailed account of these settlements and of the history of Lesbos may not be attempted here. Only enough will be said to show the influence of other countries on Lesbos, and her influence, in turn, on the peoples with whom she came in contact.

The stories of the settlement of Lesbos indicate a close relationship to the mainland of Greece. Diodorus Siculus²² gives the longest and most connected account. He says that Xanthus, son of Triopas, with Pelasgians from the Peloponnesus²³ took possession of Lesbos, which had been previously without inhabitants. Some generations later Lesbos was stripped of its population by the flood of Deucalion. Then came Macar or Macareus. This period seems to have been one of the most important for settlement, as the sons and daughters of this Macar were reputed to be the eponymous heroes and heroines of the principal cities and mountains of Lesbos.²⁴ Concerning the parentage of Macar, Diodorus gives different accounts. In book V, 81, he tells that Macar was son of Crinacus, descendant of Zeus; while in book V, 56, he calls him one of the seven sons of Helius, thus indicating a Rhodian origin.²⁵ Gruppe²⁶ accepts the descent from Zeus through Crinacus, and finds a connection with the Boeotian region. This seems more likely than the supposition that the settlers of the period came from Rhodes.²⁷ The Lapith Lesbus, said to be a son-in-law of Macar, is certainly a Thessalian-Minyan element.²⁸

¹⁹ Diod. Sic. III, 55.

²⁰ Schol. Apol. Rhod. II, 965.

²¹ Cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Αἰθόπιον*. Such mistakes in spelling are easily made. Cf. Anth. Pal. VI, 269, where the codex reads *Αἰθιοπία* for *Αἰθιοπία*.

²² Diod. Sic. V, 81; Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μυτιλήνη*. Cf. Plehn, *op. cit.* p. 24, and Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I, pp. 273 f.

²³ There is considerable evidence for Pelasgians in Lesbos, and as Plehn (*op. cit.* pp. 29-30) thinks, they probably came from Thessaly.

²⁴ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μυτιλήνη*.

²⁵ See Plehn, *op. cit.* p. 25, for still other accounts of the parentage of Macar.

²⁶ Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol.* p. 297, n. I; Busolt, *l. c.*

²⁷ There was certainly some connection, however, with Rhodes at this period. Diod. Sic. V, 81, says Macar sent his sons into Chios, Samos, Cos and Rhodes with colonies. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, II, 79; Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* I, 49, connects Macar with Melkar.

²⁸ Thraemer, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* II, 1660.

But Plehn is right in supposing that no man called Macar ever really held the rule of Lesbos,²⁹ and that King Macar was an invention of the mythographers. Compare for instance the more likely reason for the name, *Μακάρων νῆσοι*, given by Diodorus and previously mentioned. But the last settlements of the island are said to have taken place after the Trojan War. Then a descendant of Orestes,³⁰ generally believed to have been Penthilus or one of his line, went to Boeotia and, joined by a large band of followers, crossed to Euboea, then to Lesbos. Later came Gras, and afterwards Malaus and Cleues, all descendants of Agamemnon. Though these leaders were reputed to have come originally from the Peloponnesus, they gathered their bands of followers in the North and went direct from northern Greece to Lesbos. Thus Thucydides³¹ says the Aeolic colonies came from Boeotia.

A study of the dialects at once brings conviction of the close relationship between the people of Lesbos and of Thessaly and Boeotia. For the dialects of these three regions constitute the Aeolic group.³² Connected with this family of dialects are also the Arcadian³³ and Cyprian. The natural inference is that the peoples speaking dialects which show such close resemblance must have come from a common home.

In tracing the connection of the Lesbians with the peoples of northern Greece, the similarity of geographical names is also useful as evidence. And in pointing out cases of such similarity Gruppe³⁴ has done important service. Some of the noteworthy instances are Pyrrha, a city in Lesbos and a promontory on the shore of Thessaly; *Λαρισαῖαι πέτραι*, rocks north of Mytilene, and Larisa, a city of Thessaly;³⁵ Pylaeus, a mountain in Lesbos, and a leader of Pelasgians in the Trojan War.³⁶ From Euboea came the name of the island Chalcis near Lesbos and the name of Mount Macistus³⁷ in Lesbos.

²⁹ Plehn, *op. cit.* p. 32.

³⁰ The name is variously given, and some say Orestes himself. See Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 38-39.

³¹ Thuc. VII, 57.

³² Buck, *Gr. Dialects*, p. 9; Thumb, *Handbuch der Gr. Dial.* pp. 51-71; Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* II, 3-8; Meister, *Gr. Dial.* pp. 1-8.

³³ Some similarities between the Lesbian and Arcadian cults can also be traced.

³⁴ Gruppe, *op. cit.* pp. 296-300. Some of the resemblances are not very striking, however.

³⁵ Strabo, IX, 440.

³⁶ Strabo, XIII, 621 and II. II, 840.

³⁷ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Χαλκίς*; Pliny, H. N. V, 140.

Eresus, a city of Lesbos, and Eiresion, a city of the Boeotians, existed.³⁸ Brisa, the name of a promontory in Lesbos, has a resemblance to a proper name occurring in northern Greece.³⁹ This name Brisa was already known in Lesbos at the time of Homer⁴⁰ apparently, and the name of Macar is associated with the place of this name. Andro-
tion⁴¹ says that Macar founded a temple of Dionysus there. But the cult of Dionysus *Βρισαῖος* seems to have come from the mainland of Greece.⁴² This is perhaps another indication that the settlement personified in "Macar" did not come from Rhodes, but from northern Greece.

The later settlements of Lesbos seem to have occurred about the time of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus. The names of Tantalus and Pelops, which are connected also with Lesbos and its myths (in some respects analogous to those of Elis and Laconia), show Peloponnesian influence.⁴³

Lesbos soon became the center of a large number of colonies, which she planted in the Troad and on other neighboring coasts. "Cyme," says Strabo,⁴⁴ "is the largest and best of the Aeolian cities. This and Lesbos may be considered the capitals of the other cities, about thirty in number—of which several no longer exist." Many of these cities were founded by the Lesbians—such as Lamponia,⁴⁵ Hamaxitus, Polymedeum, Sigeum, Tragasae and Neandria by Mytilene; Assus⁴⁶ and Gargara by Methymna. Livy⁴⁷ says that Peraea also was a colony of Mytilene. On the shore of Thrace, Aenus,⁴⁸

³⁸ Etym. Magn. s. v. *Εἰρέσιον*, p. 303, 11.

³⁹ Steph, Byz. s. v. *Βρίσα*; Etym. Magn. s. v. *Βρισαῖος*, p. 214, 11; Sittig, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophris*, Halle, 1911, p. 90.

⁴⁰ Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* pp. 409-12.

⁴¹ Etym. Magn. *l. c.*

⁴² See pp. 57-8.

⁴³ Mytilene is reported as daughter either of Macar or Pelops, Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μυτιλήνη*. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, has in some instances shown excellently the resemblance of cults of Lesbos to those of Laconia.

⁴⁴ Strabo, XIII, 623.

⁴⁵ E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* II, pp. 463 f.

⁴⁶ Investigations at Assos, *Papers of the Arch. Inst. of America*, Series I, pp. 66 f. Strabo, XIII, 610, quoting Myrsilus, says Assus was founded by people of Methymna, but Stephanus, s. v. *Ἄσσος*, says by Mytilene.

⁴⁷ Livy, XXXVII, 21, 4.

⁴⁸ According to Hdt. VII, 58 and Thuc. VII. 57, Aenus was an Aeolic colony. Scymnus of Chios, *Orbis Descr.* I. 696, attributes it to Mytilene; Steph. Byz. s. v. *Αἶνος*, to Cyme; Strabo, VII, frg. 52, to Mytilene and Cyme.

Sestus, Madytus,⁴⁹ and in the Troad, Abydus and Arisbe⁵⁰ were according to some traditions settled by Lesbos. It is evident, therefore, that Lesbos in the early centuries exerted a great influence over that region of the world. The height of her power seems to have been reached about the time of Pittacus. It was then that she came into conflict with Athens concerning the possession of Sigeum, and lost that important stronghold by the decision of Periander. Gradually she lost also other territory—much of it to the Athenians, as we know from a tribute list of that city of the year 425 B.C.⁵¹ In that record (z, ll. 12-20) are preserved the names of certain cities of the Trojan shore which had formerly belonged to Mytilene, but had later become tributary to Athens. They are Antandrus, Phocleum,⁵² Pordoselene, Hamaxitus, Larisa, Achilleum.⁵³ After the middle of the second century B.C., Mytilene still held territory about the Gulf of Adramyttium, for at that time a dispute arose between Mytilene and Pitane⁵⁴ concerning the boundaries of their possessions. Pergamum was called upon to arbitrate the matter and gave her decision in favor of Pitane. However, in the time of Strabo⁵⁵ Mytilene still held villages on the Gulf of Adramyttium.

The Lesbians were able during the greater part of the fifth century to maintain independence towards Athens, only furnishing the Athenians with ships for a time.⁵⁶ But in 428 B.C. when Mytilene withdrew from her allegiance to Athens and joined the side of Sparta, she was defeated and given over to the Athenian Cleruchs.⁵⁷ The relation of Lesbian history to that of Athens and of the whole Greek world for the fourth century, Hans Pistorius has recently treated in great detail.⁵⁸ At the close of this century Lesbos was under the control of Lysimachus.⁵⁹ From this time until the first century B.C. the records which throw light on her history are very few.

⁴⁹ Scymnus, *Orbis Descr.* ll. 709-10; Eustath. *Comment. Dion. Per.* 513.

⁵⁰ Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Αρισβη.

⁵¹ I. G. I, 37 = Roberts and Gardner, *Intro. to Gr. Epig.* 17 (restored).

⁵² Rhoiteion according to Roberts and Gardner, *l. c.*

⁵³ Cf. Thuc. III, 50, 3 and IV, 52, 3.

⁵⁴ Frankel, *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, no. 245 = Dittenberger, *O. G. I.* no. 335. Cf. Victor Bérard, *De Arbitrio inter liberas Graecorum Civitates*, p. 45; *Rev. Arch.* XII, 1908, p. 195, n. 2; Tod., *Gr. Internat. Arbitration*, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Strabo, XIII, 605 and 607.

⁵⁶ Thuc. I, 19; III, 39; VI, 85; VII, 57.

⁵⁷ Thuc. III, 2-50.

⁵⁸ Pistorius, *Beiträge zur Gesch. v. Lesbos*.

⁵⁹ Pistorius, *op. cit.* p. 86.

Before the Romans became powerful in the East, the island seems to have been at least for a part of the time under the control of Egypt.⁶⁰ Among the Egyptian papyri has been found a series of drafts of letters dating probably from the end of the third century,⁶¹ written to various officials, and containing directions concerning the collection of foreign revenues of Egypt. One is to Aphrodisius, who is directed to give information about the receipt of taxes collected in Lesbos and Thrace.⁶² This reference to taxes levied by Egypt in the island implies that the influence of Egypt in Lesbos was much greater than has been supposed.⁶³ From a time slightly previous comes an inscription⁶⁴ which gives the title *Θεός* to Ptolemy IV, Philopator (222-205 B.C.). In a Ptolemaic inscription in Toronto,⁶⁵ Apollonius of Mytilene is mentioned—perhaps a soldier in the royal service at Fayûm. As late as 194 A.D. we have record that Prospectus of Mytilene was archon of an athletic club in Egypt.⁶⁶ Lesbian inscriptions indicate that many Egyptians likewise resided in Lesbos. But the interest in Egypt and the connection with it through travel and commerce arose in the early centuries of the history of Lesbos. Alcaeus⁶⁷ when in exile visited Egypt; Charaxus,⁶⁸ the brother of Sappho was personally engaged in trade with it; and Sappho perhaps uses *ἐρπυς*,⁶⁹ an Egyptian word for wine. Terpander is said to have taken the lyre of Orpheus to Egypt.⁷⁰ We find according to Herodotus that the people of Mytilene were the only Aeolians who took part in the establishment of the Greek *temenos* called the “Hellenion” at Naucratis.⁷¹ In classical times it seems that Lesbos was a cen-

⁶⁰ This accounts to a great extent for the recognition of certain Egyptian gods in Lesbos and for the honor given the Ptolemies there.

⁶¹ On palaeographical grounds.

⁶² Grenfell, Hunt, Smyly, Tebtunis Papyri, I, pp. 66-69, dating 202-1 B. C.

⁶³ B. C. H. IV, 1880, pp. 434 f.

⁶⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 498.

⁶⁵ A. J. A. XIX, 1915, p. 72.

⁶⁶ Gk. Papyri in Br. Mus. III, p. 218, l. 62.

⁶⁷ Strabo, I, 37.

⁶⁸ Hdt. II, 135; Strabo, XVII, 808; Athen. XIII, 596b; Oxyrhynchus Papyri, I, no. VIII; D. Mallet, *Les Premiers Établissements des Grecs en Égypte*, p. 155.

⁶⁹ Sappho, Frg. 51 (Bergk); D. Mallet, *op. cit.* p. 366.

⁷⁰ Nichom. Enchir. Harm. exc. I (Mus. Scriptores Graeci, p. 266).

⁷¹ Hdt. II, 178. The other states were Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis. Hugo Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, p. 57; Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, no. 840.

ter for the manufacture of bucchero ware which it exported to Egypt.⁷² Pape thought that there was an island in the Nile called Lesbos, since he apparently misinterpreted a passage of Stephanus which refers to the Aeolic island.⁷³

During the period when Rhodes was at the height of her power, Mytilene was one of the states which sometimes coöperated with her;⁷⁴ and there is record found at Eresus of a treaty between Rhodes and Lesbos of the third century B.C.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that much communication existed also earlier between the two islands, as Rhodes furnished a convenient port at which "to get water and rest before making the long sail to Egypt."⁷⁶

With the history of Asia Minor, that of Lesbos was interwoven even from a period before the time of the Trojan War, when Achilles stormed the Lesbian towns, killed the heroes Lampetus⁷⁷ and Trambelus,⁷⁸ and carried off the seven Lesbian maidens. Through the colonies founded on the mainland, as has already been said, she came into contact especially with the peoples of Asia. When the Persian kingdom gained its great power under Darius, the Persian fleet easily subdued the islands Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos;⁷⁹ so that when Xerxes sent his expedition against Greece, the Lesbians together with the other Aeolians furnished sixty ships.⁸⁰

But when the Greeks defeated the Persians in 429 B.C., Lesbos was received into the Greek federation.⁸¹ From that time, for almost two centuries her face was turned towards the West, and Athens, Sparta or Macedonia determined her course. Nevertheless her relations with the cities of the Asia Minor coast, both Aeolic and Ionic, must have still been very close. In about the middle of the fourth century, for instance, an inscription tells that Mytilene made an agreement with Phocaea about coining of money;⁸² and even from

⁷² J. H. S. XXXIV, 1914, p. 142; Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, pp. 47 f. Loeschcke, *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 18.

⁷³ Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, s. v. Λέσβος. Steph. Byz. s. v. Έφεσος.

⁷⁴ Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 140.

⁷⁵ Papageorgiu, *Ῥόδος καὶ Λέσβος*, Leipzig, 1913. Cf. I. G. XII, ii, 285.

⁷⁶ Cf. Xen. *Ephes.* I, 11.

⁷⁷ Parthenius, *Erot.* XXI = F. H. G. IV, p. 314.

⁷⁸ Parthenius, *Erot.* XXVI.

⁷⁹ Hdt. VI, 31.

⁸⁰ Hdt. VII, 95. Cf. Diod. Sic. IX, 196, who says 40 ships.

⁸¹ Hdt. IX, 106.

⁸² I. G. XII, ii, 1. Cf. Pistorius, *op. cit.* pp. 31 f.

the early fifth century the coins show that some arrangement between the two cities must have existed in regard to the mints.⁸³ When by the decision of Antiochus (306-301 B.C.) the people of Lebedus were moved to Teos, the two peoples chose Mytilene as the city to which they might refer cases about the adjustment of rights.⁸⁴ In the first half of the second century B.C., Miletus was arbitrator between Methymna and Eresus.⁸⁵ When King Eumenes made pledges to his soldiers (between 263 and 241 B.C.), Pergamum, Gryneum and Mytilene were the cities chosen for the erection of copies of the inscription.⁸⁶ Likewise, in perhaps the second century B.C., the people of Pergamum decided on Mytilene together with Athens and their own city for the erection of an important decree.⁸⁷ In the time of Marcus Aurelius alliance coins between Mytilene and Adramyttium⁸⁸ were struck; and in the time of Commodus, between Mytilene and Perga in Pamphylia.⁸⁹ Some of the coins of the time of Valerian and Gallienus show an alliance between Mytilene and Pergamum.⁹⁰ In a decree of Mytilene *πολίεσσι κοινᾷς* may possibly refer to a religious union of Asiatic cities, with the common temple in Ephesus.⁹¹ Also in the West Mytilene in Hellenistic times was making alliances, as for instance, with Aetolia in the third century B.C.⁹²

The defeat of Antiochus by the Romans at the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. was important for western Asia. Many Greek cities obtained by it their freedom and the right to coin money—among them Mytilene.⁹³ The history of this city under Roman control has been especially treated by Cichorius in his *Rom und Mytilene*; and

⁸³ Wroth, *Cat. of Coins in the British Museum: Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos*, pp. 156 f.

⁸⁴ Lebas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, IV, p. 43; V. Bérard, *De Arbitrio inter liberas Graecorum Civitates*, p. 51.

⁸⁵ Wiegand, *Milet*, III, no. 152.

⁸⁶ Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, I, no. 13, l. 18 = Dittenberger, *O. G. I.* no. 266, l. 18. Both Fränkel and Dittenberger date the inscription soon after 263 B. C.

⁸⁷ Fränkel, *op. cit.* I, no. 251, l. 40.

⁸⁸ Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 214, no. 232.

⁸⁹ Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 214, no. 235.

⁹⁰ Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 214, no. 233-4.

⁹¹ Cichorius, *Athen. Mitth.* XIII, 1888, p. 59. This expression may as well refer to the *κοινὸν Λεσβίων*. Plehn, *op. cit.* p. 59. Paton, *I. G. XII*, ii, 30, reads *πολίεσσι κοῖνα*.

⁹² *I. G. XII*, ii, 15. Fränkel, *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1885, p. 150, dates 194-3 B. C.

⁹³ Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, p. 87.

for the first century by H. de la Ville de Mirmont in his article *Théophrane de Mytilène*.⁹⁴ It is certain that Rome exerted a tremendous influence in the island both through its government, which established a peace favorable to trade and material prosperity for almost one hundred years, and through individual Romans who spent much time in Lesbos.⁹⁵ In a recently published inscription from Sinope (Rev. Arch. 1916, p. 355) there is a reference to the celebration in Roman times of games at Mitylene, possibly by the *κοινὸν Ἀσίας*.

An interesting feature in the history of Lesbos is that for many centuries it served as a resort for the traveller, for the exile and for the student. In Horace's Epistles Rhodes and Mytilene stand for foreign travel.⁹⁶ Because it had one of the finest locations in the East, Timotheus,⁹⁷ the Athenian, chose to live there. Others who were attracted there were Aristotle,⁹⁸ Epicurus,⁹⁹ Persinas,¹⁰⁰ P. Rutilius,¹⁰¹ M'. Aquilius,¹⁰² Mithridates,¹⁰³ C. Memmius, Pompey the Great and Cornelia his wife,¹⁰⁴ Sextus Pompey,¹⁰⁵ M. Brutus,¹⁰⁶ M. Marcellus,¹⁰⁷ M. Agrippa,¹⁰⁸ Germanicus and his wife Agrippina.¹⁰⁹ Besides these famous men and women, there are names of others of less note, recorded on grave stones and other monuments found on the island—people who came from Europe, Asia and Egypt.¹¹⁰ And not only did

⁹⁴ Rev. des Études grecques, XVIII, 1905, pp. 165-206.

⁹⁵ See I. G. XII, ii, Index and C. I. L. 454 and 455 for Romans in Lesbos.

⁹⁶ Horace, Epp. I, 11, 17 (Wickham's note).

⁹⁷ Athen. XII, 532 b.

⁹⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1014.

⁹⁹ Hesych. Onomatologi, s. v. Ἐπίκουρος.

¹⁰⁰ Callimachus, Frg. 41.

¹⁰¹ Cic. pro Rab. Post. 10, 27; Val. Max. II, 10, 5.

¹⁰² Vel. Pat. II, 18.

¹⁰³ Appian, Mithr. 52.

¹⁰⁴ Cic. Ad Fam. 13, 1. Vel. Pat. II, 53.

¹⁰⁵ Cassius Dio, XLIX, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Cic. Brut. 71; Seneca, ad Helv. IX.

¹⁰⁷ Cic. ad Fam. IV, 7; Val. Max. VIII, 11, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Tac. Ann. XIV, 53; Suet. Aug. 66; Suet. Tib. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Tac. Ann. II, 54. Cassius Dio, LVI, 27, says that when Augustus gave orders that no exile should spend time on the continent or in any island except those distant 400 stades from the mainland, Cos and Rhodes, Sardes and Lesbos alone were excepted for some reason.

¹¹⁰ Athens, I. G. II, ii, 306 and 307; Syracuse, I. G. XII, ii, 310; Thebes, I. G. XII, ii, 493; Mende, I. G. XII, ii, 409; Olynthus, I. G. XII, ii, 202 (?); Byzantium, I. G. XII, ii, 443; Dacia, I. G. XII, ii, 125; Assus, I. G. XII, ii, 435; Colophon, I. G. XII, ii, 309; Atarneus, I. G. XII, ii, 362; Parium, I. G.

foreigners come to Lesbos, but the Lesbians themselves seem to have been great travellers. Arion, Terpander, Alcaeus and Sappho went far abroad in early times; and inscriptional records are preserved which name Lesbians in various parts of the ancient world. Many Lesbians were in Athens,¹¹¹ and others visited or settled in Olympia,¹¹² Delphi,¹¹³ Nemea,¹¹⁴ the Isthmus, Epidaurus,¹¹⁵ Moesia,¹¹⁶ Leucas,¹¹⁷ Thessaly,¹¹⁸ Samothrace,¹¹⁹ the Troad,¹²⁰ Teos,¹²¹ the vicinity of Panticapaeum,¹²² Lydia,¹²³ Syria,¹²⁴ Tenos,¹²⁵ Delos,¹²⁶ Latium,¹²⁷ Iberia,¹²⁸ Egypt.¹²⁹ Some spent time with Alexander the Great,¹³⁰ King Amyntas¹³¹ of Macedon(?), Pompey¹³² and Augustus.¹³³ The frequent communication with foreigners, both at home and abroad, must have had much effect on the Lesbians—an influence which was felt in their cults also.

XII, ii, 387; Pergamum, I. G. XII, ii, 312; Perga, I. G. XII, ii, 308; Alabanda, I. G. XII, ii, 514; Nicomedia, I. G. XII, ii, 386; Media, I. G. XII, ii, 442; Rhodes, I. G. XII, ii, 311; Alexandria, I. G. XII, ii, 114 and 393; Sinope, *Rev. Arch.* 1916, p. 355.

¹¹¹ I. G. II, ii, 963; II, iii, 2877, 3134, 3230 and 3231; Robinson, A. J. P. 1910, pp. 384 and 391. Lesbians were also honored in Athenian decrees, I. G. II, i, 18 and I. G. II, i, ad. 52c, l. 29 = I. G. II and III, E. M. no. 107.

¹¹² Paus. VI, 15, I for Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, the Isthmus. For Olympia, Dittenberger und Purgold, *Inscr. Olymp.* 173; Diod. Sic. XI, 48; Dionys. Hal. IX, 179.

¹¹³ I. G. XII, ii, 388, also for Pergamum, Theatira and Neapolis.

¹¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 133.

¹¹⁵ I. G. IV, 951, l. 122.

¹¹⁶ C. I. L. III, 8213.

¹¹⁷ Athen. Mitth. XXVII, 1902, p. 361.

¹¹⁸ *Rev. Epig.* II, 1914, p. 128.

¹¹⁹ I. G. XII, viii, 162, 163, and 170.

¹²⁰ Athen. Mitth. VI, 1881, p. 227.

¹²¹ Lebas-Waddington, *op. cit.* III, no. 91.

¹²² Latyschev, *Ins. Ant. O. S. P. E.* II, 294.

¹²³ Keil und von Premerstein, *Berichte über eine zweite Reise in Lydien*, II, p. 33.

¹²⁴ Appian, *Συριακή*, 52.

¹²⁵ I. G. XII, v², 1.

¹²⁶ I. G. XI, ii, 105 and 108.

¹²⁷ C. I. G. III, 6074 and C. I. L. VI², 8438.

¹²⁸ *Anth. Pal.* VII, 376.

¹²⁹ See pp. xii-xiii.

¹³⁰ Athen. I. 20a; XII, 538 e. Hesych. s. v. *Αισχρίων*. Diod. Sic. XVII, 57. Arrian, *Anab.* III, 2, 5.

¹³¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl.* VIII, 106.

¹³² H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Revue des Études grecques*, XVIII, 1905, pp. 165 f.

¹³³ I. G. XII, ii, 35a.

Lesbos was long a center of education, from the time when Sappho kept her school¹³⁴ until Imperial times. Interesting is a grave stone¹³⁵ which reads,

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου με καταρχόμενον λυκάβαντος
ἄρτι τε ῥητορικῆς ἔργα διδασκόμενον
Λέσβῳ ἐν εὐδένδρῳ βαρναλγῆς νοῦσος ἐδάμνα,
κούκέτ' ἐς ἡμερτὴν γαῖαν ἔβην Ἐφέσου,

showing that a student came from Ephesus for rhetorical instruction. We know that philosophy also flourished. Aristotle stayed in Lesbos for a year and had a school, in which two of his favorite pupils were Tyrtamus (to whom he gave the name Theophrastus) and Phantias.¹³⁶ Epicurus at the close of the fourth century was head of a school in Mytilene,¹³⁷ and a letter of his to the philosophers in that city is quoted by Sextus Empiricus.¹³⁸ Especially again in the first century philosophy flourished, when Lesbonax¹³⁹ and Cratippus¹⁴⁰ were at Mytilene. Hermarchus¹⁴¹ and Echekratides,¹⁴² and probably Leucippus,¹⁴³ were Lesbian philosophers of note also. Scientific studies seem to have been actively pursued, and Serenus,¹⁴⁴ the mathematician, as well as Matricetas,¹⁴⁵ the astronomer, lived there. Valerius Maximus says that when P. Rutilius went into exile in 93 B.C., all the cities of the province offered him refuge, but he chose Mytilene. It is likely, as Cichorius thinks, that his choice was determined by the opportunity to pursue his scientific studies.¹⁴⁶ A story by Aelian¹⁴⁷ shows excellently the value put on education in Mytilene. He says that when the people of that city ruled the sea, they imposed on all

¹³⁴ The tradition still lingers. By the church of St. Therapon are ruins which Koldewey saw pointed out as a temple of Apollo or the school of Sappho. Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 9.

¹³⁵ C. I. G. II, 3019 = Anth. Pal. App. II, 241.

¹³⁶ See Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 214 f.

¹³⁷ Hesych. s. v. Ἐπικουρος; Diog. Laert. X, 9.

¹³⁸ Sex. Emp. adv. math. 4.

¹³⁹ Cichorius, Rom und Mytilene, p. 65.

¹⁴⁰ Cic. Tim. I; Plut. Pompey, 75.

¹⁴¹ Diog. Laert. X, 1.

¹⁴² Steph. Byz. s. v. Μηθυμνα.

¹⁴³ Wroth, Cl. Rev. VIII, 1894, pp. 226 f. shows portrait on coin which appears to be a philosopher.

¹⁴⁴ Manatt, Aegean Days, p. 280.

¹⁴⁵ See p. 83.

¹⁴⁶ Cichorius, *op. cit.* p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Aelian, V. H. VII, 15.

revolting peoples the punishment that their children should not learn to read nor be taught *μουσική*. Aelian adds that this was because they thought that of all punishments the most severe was to live in ignorance and *ἀμουσία*. Ziebarth infers that in Mytilene elementary schools must have been public.¹⁴⁸

The Lesbians in early times were renowned for their talent and studies in music and rhythm above most peoples.¹⁴⁹ Perhaps no one Greek region except Attica has produced so many writers in such varied departments of literature. Plehn¹⁵⁰ has collected their names, and to his list it is necessary to add only Anaxion, son of Thrasyclides,¹⁵¹ who, according to an inscription of Teos, won a prize with his satyr drama, *Persae*. The Lesbians seem to have had great love of the beautiful in architecture and sculpture also, and their city Mytilene was one of the most beautiful in antiquity. Cicero¹⁵² speaks of its beauty, and likewise Longus,¹⁵³ as late as the fifth century A.D., still praises it. The island furnished celebrated marble for building and sculpture,¹⁵⁴ so that temples and statues of the gods were many, as the preliminary investigations already indicate.

The moral character of the Lesbians does not deserve such high praise as do their mental qualities;¹⁵⁵ but probably too much of a derogatory nature has been said against them, especially in antiquity. It is very likely that many of the charges brought against them, just as in the case of Sappho, arose from statements of the comic poets. Plehn almost a century ago expressed this opinion, and since that time much has been done to remove the false impression which comedy gave.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁸ Ziebarth, *Aus dem gr. Schulwesen*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁹ For a long discussion of this subject see Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 138-169.

¹⁵⁰ Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 132-218.

¹⁵¹ Lebas-Waddington, *op. cit.* IV, 91.

¹⁵² Cic. *De Leg. Agr.* II, 16, 40. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I, 7; Strabo, XIII, 617.

¹⁵³ Longus, *Past.* I, 1.

¹⁵⁴ Pliny, *H. N.* XXXVI, 6. I. G. XII, ii, 11 contains a contract for the repolishing and restoration of a temple. Cf. Viedebantt, *Hermes* I, 1915, pp. 34-46.

¹⁵⁵ Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 121 f.

¹⁵⁶ Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 175 f; Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*.

CHAPTER I

THE TWELVE GODS

Apollo

Strabo, having spoken of the islands which are between Asia and Lesbos, says that along the whole shore as far as Tenedos, Apollo is held in veneration, and worshipped as Σμινθεὺς ἢ Κιλλαῖος ἢ Γρυνεὺς ἢ τινα ἄλλην ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων.¹ The cults of Lesbos closely resemble those of the Troad, and there is evidence that each of these epithets mentioned by Strabo was also applied to Apollo in Lesbos.² His worship is perhaps the earliest that we can trace in the island, having been established before the Aeolians came.³ Smintheus is not a Greek word,⁴ and the general belief is that it passed to Rhodes and Aeolis from Crete.⁵ Apollo Σμινθεὺς seems to have been a god of agriculture, and originally a protector against field mice.⁶ A. Reinach believes that there was a temple on the coast of Troas near Hamaxitus, dedicated to a mouse god Sminthos, before he became Apollo Smintheus of the Aeolians.⁷ But the name Smintheus was by confusion associated with the settlement from Greece, and among the colonists of the Penthelidae one leader is mentioned of this name.⁸ The colonists are said to have settled near Methymna,⁹ which is indeed the region nearest Hamaxitus. Tümpel, by a very cleverly constructed chain of reasoning, decides that Chryse, the home of Chryseis of the Iliad, was in Lesbos, where Chryses was priest of Apollo Smintheus. He places the "Smintheion" at Arisba, believing that with

¹ Strabo, XIII, 618:

² The evidence for Apollo Γρυνεὺς depends on a restoration, however. See p. 3.

³ Plehn, *op. cit.* p. 115.

⁴ Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXXVIII, 1903, p. 575.

⁵ Illberg, *Roscher's Lexikon*, IV, 1084.

⁶ Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 255. *Schol. Il. I*, 39. Cf. also *A. J. P.* XXIX, 1908, pp. 97-8, where the epithet is connected with the idea of destroyer of rats which spread pestilence.

⁷ *Rev. Epig. II*, 1914, pp. 43-4.

⁸ *Plut. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. ch. 20.* Another version of the same story (*Plut. De Soll. Animal. ch. 36*) calls the name Phineus. See pp. 39-40. The name is probably inserted in the story of the Penthelidae because of early associations of the name Smintheus with Methymna.

⁹ *Athen. XI*, 466 c.

the destruction of that town the cult passed on to Methymna.¹⁰ This cult must have continued to exist at Methymna during many centuries, for an inscription¹¹ found there and dating from Imperial times mentions a prophet of Smintheus (τὸν τῶν μελῶν ποιητὴν καὶ προφήτην τοῦ Σμινθέως). A quotation from Myrsilus, the Lesbian writer, says that on Mt. Lepetymnus (which is near Methymna) there was a temple of Apollo and an *heroon* of Lepetymnus, at which, just as at Crannon, there were only two ravens, though there were many in the regions near by.¹² It would seem that the Lesbian shrine was connected with the Thessalian¹³ one by some tradition due to the colonists from Thessaly. And so Gruppe supposes the Lesbian temple to be a "Filiale" of the one at Crannon. It appears, then, that in this district of Methymna there were two influences at work in Apollo worship, an older represented by the name Smintheus, and a later brought in with the Aeolic settlements.

Strabo likewise says that there was a temple of Apollo Κιλλαῖος in Lesbos, founded from a place near Thebe,¹⁴ where was a temple of the same god. He adds that according to Daes of Coloniae the temple was founded first at Coloniae by Aeolians, who came by sea from Greece.¹⁵ Another tradition¹⁶ connects the founding of the temple in Lesbos with the story of Pelops and Oenomaus. When Pelops buried Cillus, he built by the grave a temple, calling it that of Apollo Κιλλαῖος because of the sudden death of Cillus. A scholium to Euripides' Orestes, l. 990 (Munich) calls Oenomaus king of the Lesbians; and there are several other points of contact of the myths of Lesbos with those of the Peloponnesus.¹⁷ Gruppe's suggestion¹⁸ is reasonable that the Lesbian Pelopidae imitated the celebrated Olympian myth with the use of local tradition. The story of Pelops seems to be employed here merely to explain a cult name of Apollo. The cult appears to have come directly from Asia Minor by the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium, where there was a town Cilla, a moun-

¹⁰ Philol. XLIX, 1890, pp. 89 f. See esp. pp. 103 f.

¹¹ I. G. XII, ii, 519.

¹² Antig. Caryst. 17 = F. H. G. IV, 459, 9.

¹³ Mt. Lepetymnus was also connected with the story of the worship of Palamedes, who, according to Gruppe, came from Locris. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 298.

¹⁴ Cilla, an Aeolian city, Il. I, 38; Hdt. I, 149.

¹⁵ Strabo, XIII, 612.

¹⁶ Schol. Il. I, 38.

¹⁷ See Introduction, pp. ix-x.

¹⁸ Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 145, n. 9.

tain Cillaeus, a river Cillus, and also a temple of the god near Thebe.¹⁹ Robert thinks possibly the shrine of Cillaeon Apollo in Lesbos may have been an out-chapel of the Sminthian god.²⁰

The third cult mentioned by Strabo,²¹ that of Apollo Γρυνεύς, had a celebrated sanctuary at Gryneum. There is evidence for the cult at Mytilene if Paton's restoration of the inscription I. G. XII, ii, 239 is correct. Because of the space and content [Γρύ]νεος εἴρεα appears to be the only reasonable restoration.

Besides the very ancient cults of the Sminthian and Cillaeon Apollo, we find another situated at Nape in the northern plain.²² Macrobius,²³ after citing other localities where Apollo was worshipped as a shepherd god, continues, "colitur et apud Lesbios Ναπαῖος²⁴ et multa sunt cognomina per diversas civitates ad dei pastoris officium tendentia, qua propter universi pecoris antistes et vere pastor agnoscitur." Gruppe accepts this interpretation and considers Apollo Ναπαῖος an example of a god of flocks.²⁵ The temple stood in a district far from the coast,²⁶ and the cult was no doubt one of primitive form. Farnell thinks Apollo Ναπαῖος may have been a foundation of the early Aeolic immigrants.²⁷ Its seclusion and the wooded region round about (which the name suggests)²⁸ made Nape a fitting center for oracles, so that Apollo became here the god of prophecy as well as of flocks. A story told in the scholia to Aristophanes' Clouds illustrates this.²⁹ The account is as follows, ἐν Λέσβῳ δὲ ναπαίου³⁰ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁ δοθεὶς Πέλοπι,³¹ αἰτοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀνάθημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἄρνα τὴν χρυσήν, ἕτερα παρέχοντι κειμήλια. ἔστι δ' οὕτως

ὁ βούλομαι δός, μὴ δίδου δ' ὁ μὴ θέλω.

φέρει δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦτον Ἀντικλείδης ἐν τοῖς Νόστοις.

¹⁹ Strabo, XIII, 612.

²⁰ Bild und Lied, p. 187. He believes that Oenomaus and Hippodamia, by an older tradition, belong originally to Lesbos.

²¹ Strabo, XIII, 618.

²² Strabo, IX, 426.

²³ Macrobi. Sat. I, 17, 45.

²⁴ Also Steph. Byz. s. v. Νάπη.

²⁵ Gruppe, *op. cit.* 1243, n. 2.

²⁶ Koldewey, *op. cit.* pp. 35 f. and pp. 44 f.

²⁷ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, p. 223.

²⁸ Suidas, s. v. Νάπη.

²⁹ Schol. Ar. Clouds, l. 144.

³⁰ Γονναπαίου is the reading of the MSS, but Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 267, rightly emended.

³¹ See Introduction, p. x.

The whole story appears to have been an invention of later times and the oracle given in iambic trimeter at such an early date is indeed suspicious.³² Hendes in a dissertation on the subject of oracles³³ decides that it is a forgery. The evidence, however, for the oracular power of Apollo at Nape is not spoiled by this conclusion. For the story must have arisen because of the oracle which from very early times existed in this region of northern Lesbos.³⁴ Coins of Lesbos with ΝΑΠ on the reverse appear to bear representations of Apollo Ναπαῖος.³⁵

Philostratus³⁶ tells of an oracle which the Greeks at Troy received about Philoctetes and the bow—an oracle from Lesbos. And he adds, "For the Achaeans used also the oracles at home, that at Dodona and the Pythian and all the celebrated ones of Boeotia and Phocis; and since Lesbos was distant only a short way from Ilium, the Greeks sent to the oracle there." The question is whether Philostratus is right in referring the oracle to Orpheus and not to Apollo.³⁷ The two were evidently associated in the giving of prophecy. Lucian says that the lyre of Orpheus was put in the temple of Apollo and for much time kept safe there,³⁸ and Ovid tells that the head of Orpheus was protected from a serpent by Apollo.³⁹ "They say that there (in Lesbos) once Orpheus was wont to rejoice in prophecy⁴⁰ before Apollo himself gave his attention to it. For since men no longer went to Gryneum for oracles, nor to Clarus, nor to the place where was the tripod of Apollo, but Orpheus alone gave oracles—his head having just come from Thrace—the god stood over him as he prophesied and said, 'Cease from the things that belong to me, for enough have I borne with thee and thy singing.' "

³² The scholiast believes that oracles in iambic trimeter were occasionally uttered, but he mentions Apollonius Molon as opposed to this opinion.

³³ Hendes, *Oracula Graeca*, Dissert. Philologicae Halenses, IV, pp. 11-5 (esp. p. 15).

³⁴ For a description of Nape see R. Koldewey, *op. cit.* pp. 44-6.

³⁵ Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 60, no. 188. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 280, tried to show that here was represented a long-haired garlanded Apollo, but Koldewey thinks the reading is very uncertain.

³⁶ Philostr. *Heroic.* ch. V, p. 306.

³⁷ Philostr. *l. c.* ἔχρα δέ, οἶμαι, ἐξ Ὀρφέως, etc.

³⁸ Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 11 f.

³⁹ Ovid, *Met.* XI, 55.

⁴⁰ Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* IV, 14, p. 70. See also Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to Gr. Religion*, p. 467.

The cult of Apollo Μυρικήαιος should be included when speaking of oracles in Lesbos, as the tamarisk was the symbol of prophecy. We know from the scholium to Nicander's *Theriaca*, l. 613, that because his statue held a branch of tamarisk, Apollo was called by this name in the island—a name of great significance and interest. It was known in only one other place, at Corope in Thessaly, where the temple statue carried a branch of tamarisk in its hand, and where a peculiar mode of divination was practised with a tamarisk.⁴¹ Farnell rightly believes that a reminiscence of the Thessalian ritual was preserved by the Lesbian cult. He calls attention to the fact that in the north Greek tradition the prophetic office was regarded as essential to Apollo, and holds it as a cause for the many mantic shrines in Aeolis and the Troad.⁴² In fact Apollo worship in Lesbos is quite in accord with a northern origin, and it is interesting to see that Alcaeus sings of the sojourn of Apollo among the Hyperboreans.⁴³

Not only was Apollo closely related to Orpheus in prophecy, but also in music, for the lyre of Orpheus was put in the temple of Apollo. Terpander⁴⁴ calls him "Leader of the Muses" (τῷ Μυσάρχῳ Λατοῦς νιέει), and Sappho⁴⁵ depicts him as leading the dance with the Muses and the Graces. Alcaeus⁴⁶ also recognized him as god of music, and the coins show types of Apollo Citharoedus.⁴⁷

Also Apollo was early a god of purification in Lesbos, if any confidence can be placed in the statement of Arctinus,⁴⁸ "Achilles sailed to Lesbos, and sacrificing to Apollo and Artemis and Leto, was purified of the murder of Thersites." No doubt Arctinus had in mind such a function of Apollo in Lesbos, which he used as a basis for his statement. But as Walter Leaf says, this idea of purification from blood is one of which Homer knows nothing, and must probably be regarded as creeping in by later tradition.

⁴¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 166.

⁴² Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 223. "The multitude of these establishments on the coast of Asia Minor is striking when we compare it with their comparative paucity in the Peloponnese and in the Hellenic settlements nearer the original home."

⁴³ Himer. Or. 14, 10.

⁴⁴ Terpander, Frg. 3 (Bergk).

⁴⁵ Himer. Or. 13, 7.

⁴⁶ Plut. De Mus. ch. 14.

⁴⁷ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 58, no. 173; Wroth, Cat. Pl. XXXV, 14.

⁴⁸ Aethiopis, Epic Gr. Frg. p. 33 (Ki.). Walter Leaf, Troy, p. 308.

At Eresus Apollo was given the special epithet Ἐρέσιος, according to Hesychius.⁴⁹ This statement leads to the logical conclusion that in that town was a special temple of Apollo; and Boutan⁵⁰ reported that he found sites of three temples at Eresus. But although Koldewey searched for it he did not succeed in locating the site.⁵¹

At the time of Alexander the Great an inscription from Eresus prescribes that advocates who conduct the trial of the former tyrant Eurysilaus shall take an oath by Apollo Λύκειος.⁵² The appearance of his name in such an important connection leads us to suppose that his cult was a prominent one there. It is useless to enter into a discussion of the contest carried on in ancient as well as modern times about the origin of the epithet. It may be that here again we have reference to an early god of herds,⁵³ though the derivation from λυκ- (Latin *lux*) seems a more fitting origin in consideration of the use in this inscription;⁵⁴ especially when we compare the similar oath sworn by Helios in the same record.⁵⁵ As the god who announced the θέμιτες of Zeus to men, so he watched over the sacred right of the oath; and as protector of the oath it was his duty to protect agreements. The directions for the erection of the decree are lost, but perhaps the stone was set up in the temple of Apollo at Eresus. An inscription of Roman times from Eresus gives a dedication to Apollo, but records no cult name.⁵⁶

At Mytilene inscriptions, literature and coins all bear witness to the importance of the Apollo cult. Here the chief worship seems to have been rendered him as Apollo Μαλόεις; and the name, according to the present evidence, was given nowhere else in the Greek world. Thucydides,⁵⁷ when narrating the events of the Peloponnesian War in 428 B.C., says that information was given the Athenians of a festival of Apollo Μαλόεις, held outside the city of Mytilene—at which the whole people kept holiday. And later in the same chapter he mentions a sanctuary of the same god. The scholium to this passage is

⁴⁹ Hesych. s. v. Ἐρέσιος.

⁵⁰ Archives des Missions scientifiques, V, p. 322.

⁵¹ Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 25; Conze, *op. cit.* p. 28, n. 1.

⁵² I. G. XII, ii, 526 b, l. 31.

⁵³ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 165 and 166, note b; Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 59.

⁵⁴ Roscher's Lexikon, II, 2175 f.

⁵⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 526 c, l. 20.

⁵⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 534.

⁵⁷ Thuc. III, 3.

an important one, as giving an ancient opinion about the origin of the cult.⁵⁸ It reads as follows, "Apollo Μαλόεις is honored by the people of Mytilene from some such cause. Manto, the daughter of Teiresias, when dancing in these regions, lost a golden μῆλον from her necklace. Therefore she promised that if she should find it she would found a temple to Apollo. And on finding the apple⁵⁹ she founded the temple, and for this reason Apollo Μαλόεις is honored by them." According to Stephanus of Byzantium, Hellanicus derives the name from Μῆλος, son of Manto.⁶⁰ Disregarding these accounts which were obviously fashioned to explain a word of which the origin was unknown, many scholars derive Μαλόεις from "sheep," and look upon this Apollo as god of flocks,⁶¹ such as Apollo Ναπαῖος in the northern district is supposed to be. Several other derivations suggested need not be considered.⁶² When we look elsewhere for names of Apollo which most resemble Μαλόεις, we find an important god Apollo Μαλεάτας,⁶³ worshipped at several places in Greece, especially in the Peloponnesus. By its use in verse we know that the first α in Μαλεάτας is short.⁶⁴ If Μαλόεις is related to Μαλεάτας, then all the derivations from μῆλον may be disregarded. Farnell believes that the two cults are related, and that they originated from a common center called Μαλέα. He finds three places of this name which might be considered⁶⁵—Μαλέα in southern Laconia and an Arcadian district which Xenophon calls ἡ Μαλεάτις (which may have taken its name from a town Μαλέα), as well as Μαλέα in Lesbos near Mytilene. He rightly excludes the possibility of a Lesbian origin, and believes that "the geographical distribution would well agree with the supposition that it arose either at the place in Arcadia, near Leuctra, or on the famous promontory of South Laconia."⁶⁶ Also in Thessalian

⁵⁸ Rev. de Phil. I, 1877, p. 185.

⁵⁹ Wide, Lakonische Kulte, p. 249, regards Philomeides (Od. IV, 343; XVII, 134) who was localized in Lesbos, as a descendant of Atlas, and Höfer, Roscher's Lexikon, III, 2349, thinks he may be connected with this story.

⁶⁰ Steph. Byz. and Hesych. s. v. Μαλλόεις.

⁶¹ Meister, Gr. Dial. I. p. 65. See Rouse, Gr. Votive Offerings, p. 45, n. 6. for epithets as god of shepherds.

⁶² Fick, Vorgr. Ortsnamen, p. 63, suggests μάλη; Meister, *op. cit.* p. 66, thinks it Semitic in origin, and thus accounts for the variation in form.

⁶³ Roscher's Lexikon, II, 2302.

⁶⁴ Wilamowitz, Philol. Untersuch. 1886, pp. 98 f.

⁶⁵ There is also a promontory before the harbor of Phaestus called Μαλέας.

⁶⁶ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 235 f.

Trikka⁶⁷ was a cult of Maleatas, and Preller⁶⁸ thinks that this cult originated in Thessaly. It seems better to suppose that the cult came originally from northern Greece and spread south and to Lesbos, just as so many other forms of Apollo worship seem to have come.

Certain it is that there was a site in Lesbos called Μαλέα, which probably took its name from the cult of the god.⁶⁹ The location of this place and temple is a problem most perplexing, and one which has been repeatedly discussed.⁷⁰ Strabo⁷¹ speaks of a promontory Μαλία, situated south of Mytilene, and distant seventy stades from the city; whereas Thucydides, III, 4, says that the Athenians anchored in Μαλέα, north of the city.⁷² The punctuation and interpretation of this passage have been much disputed, the tactics of the Athenians in the siege of Mytilene are involved, and the question as to how well Thucydides knew the geography of the region has been introduced.⁷³ The matter is, therefore, too involved to be treated here. It is enough to say that Aristotle, who spent some time in Lesbos, says ἐνοχλεῖ δὲ (Καικίας) τὸν Μιτυληναίων λιμένα, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Μαλόεντα,⁷⁴ which confirms the statement of Thucydides that a Μαλέα north of the city existed. The view, therefore, that the temple was north of Mytilene, near the harbor, seems the better one.⁷⁵

The festival which Thucydides brings to our attention was celebrated for more than five centuries in spite of so many vicissitudes, for we find it mentioned again in an inscription of the first century

⁶⁷ Isyllus, l. 29.

⁶⁸ Preller, Gr. Myth. p. 252. Preller also believes Μαλόεις and Μαλεάτας are related.

⁶⁹ Cf. Steph. Byz. Μαλλόεις· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ, καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ, and Thucydides, Xenophon, Aristotle and Strabo in the passages cited below.

⁷⁰ Koldewey, *op. cit.* pp. 14-5; Classen's note to Thuc. III, 4. E. Fabricius, Athen. Mitth. IX, 1884, pp. 91 f., and Conze, *op. cit.* p. 7, put ὁ Μαλόεις north of the city.

⁷¹ Strabo, XIII, 617.

⁷² Xen. Hell. I, 6, 26-7, mentions a Malea opposite Mytilene, and the schol. Ar. Frogs, l. 33, mentions Malia.

⁷³ Plehn, *op. cit.* p. 18, thinks Thuc. III, 4 must be wrong. L. Herbst, Philol. XLII, 1883, p. 708, thinks the island forming the oldest part of the town was Malea.

⁷⁴ Arist. De Ventis, 973 a. Cf. Conze, *op. cit.* pp. 7-8.

⁷⁵ Cf. I. G. XII, ii, 74, l. 5, ἐν Μαλόεντι μόρον, and l. 16, ἐν Μαλείᾳ ἀμπέλων μόρον, treating of property in the immediate vicinity of Mytilene; but the exact location is not determined. A dedicatory to Hermes at Mytilene was named . . . as Μαλόσιος in I. G. XII, ii, 96.

A.D.⁷⁶ Bressus is there named as leader of the chorus of Artemis and of Apollo Μαλόεις. His festival was almost certainly in the early centuries,⁷⁷ as well as in later times, accompanied by music and dancing.

An inscription found in the "baths of Lesbos," north of the city,⁷⁸ reveals another name for Apollo. It reads, Αὐτοκράτορος Θέ[ω ὑἱὼ Σεβάστω] καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Θερμί[ω . . .], and bears witness that Apollo must by Roman times have assumed the cult name of the more famous Artemis Θερμία.⁷⁹ Farnell thinks it is conceivable that the Apollo Θέρμιος of Lesbos was originally the same as the Aetolian and Elean, and that his cult had been brought across the sea by some Aeolic immigrants. He would then derive the name from Thermon or Thermos in Aetolia. Farnell thinks Apollo may also have had his part in the panegyris of Artemis.⁸⁰ But the fact that Apollo is not mentioned in the many inscriptions concerning the festival, nor in any of the Artemis Thermia inscriptions before Imperial times, leads one to doubt whether his worship was an old and long established feature of the sanctuary. Here he is apparently in late times the god of warm springs because of his close association with Artemis, and is not connected with oaths and justice as he was at Olympia.⁸¹

It is very doubtful whether Ἀλεξικάκω, in an inscription⁸² found at Mytilene and dating shortly before the birth of Christ, refers to Apollo. For in various parts of the Greek world this epithet is known to apply to Zeus, Athena, Poseidon, Heracles, Serapis and Isis. From Mytilene we also have perhaps a dedication to Apollo, but with no cult name mentioned.⁸³

Near the church of Saint Therapon, in the southern part of the city, are ruins of buildings dating from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D., where Koldewey found Doric and Ionic columns of different sizes and various marbles, several Attic-Ionic bases, etc. He heard the ruins pointed out as a temple of Apollo or the school of

⁷⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 484.

⁷⁷ Callimachus, Frg. 543 (Schneider) says, ὁ δ' αἰδίων Μαλόεις ἦλθε χορός.

⁷⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 104 = Ephem. Epig. II, p. 7, no. 27.

⁷⁹ See pp. 13-6 for Artemis Thermia.

⁸⁰ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 167 and p. 168, note b.

⁸¹ Pausanias, V, 15, 7, suggests that Thermios at Olympia was a local variant for the Attic Thesmios, and designated the god of law and order.

⁸² I. G. XII, ii, 99.

⁸³ I. G. XII, ii, 94, of about the third century B. C. is perhaps a dedication, but the evidence depends on a restoration.

Sappho; but the first alternative may be as untrue as the second is impossible.⁸⁴

One of the special phases of Apollo worship was as god of the calendar; and we are therefore not surprised to find at Methymna a month *'Απολλώνιος*.⁸⁵ Though the inscription which records it dates from Roman times, the name was probably given to the month in the very early history of the city. The month *Apollonios* also appears in another inscription,⁸⁶ which Paton excludes from the Lesbian Corpus, but which Boeckh,⁸⁷ Pottier and Hauvette-Besnault,⁸⁸ Wilamowitz,⁸⁹ Preller,⁹⁰ Gruppe⁹¹ and others accept. Other definite evidence for the month at Methymna is contained in an inscription found at Miletus,⁹² where, in a decree of the people of Methymna, *'Απολλώνιος* is clearly read on the stone. According to Strabo,⁹³ among the Aeolians in Asia, one of the months was called *Parnopion* because of Apollo Parnopion. But evidence that the name of this month was used among the Aeolians of Lesbos is lacking.

In the straits between Lesbos and Asia there were small islands, about twenty in number (forty according to Timotheus), called by the name Hecatonnesi in honor of Apollo *Ἑκατος*, says Strabo.⁹⁴ But the islands probably derive their name from *ἐκατόν*, "hundred,"⁹⁵ and not from a local cult name of the god.

"The Aeolic Apolline worship was certainly powerful," says Farnell,⁹⁶ "and no other in this region appears to have competed with it." In Lesbos, however, Dionysus and Artemis were very close rivals in the time of the Roman Empire. Farnell also points out that the worship "seems somewhat backward and local, and lacking in the

⁸⁴ Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 9. Cf. Conze, *op. cit.* p. 9; Papageorgiu, *Uned. Inschr.* v. Myt. p. X.

⁸⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 505.

⁸⁶ C. I. G. IV, 6850.

⁸⁷ See his note, C. I. G. l. c.

⁸⁸ B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 440.

⁸⁹ Gött. Gel. Nachr. 1895, p. 232.

⁹⁰ Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 868.

⁹¹ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 298, n. 1.

⁹² Wiegand, *Milet*, III, no. 152, l. 37.

⁹³ Strabo, XIII, 613.

⁹⁴ Strabo, XIII, 618.

⁹⁵ See Jessen, *Pauly-Wissowa*, *Real-Encycl.* VII, 2799 f.

⁹⁶ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 168. Note Alcaeus' celebrated prooemium to Apollo, *Frgs.* 1-4 (Bergk), and the epigram to Apollo by Archias of Mytilene, *Anth. Pal.* IX, 19, for influence on poets of Lesbos.

higher interests of the Attic, Delphic, and Delian, although Lykeios and Smintheus acquired the usual political character that marks this divinity. What is perhaps most significant is the lack of any recorded connection between the Aeolic and the Pythian shrine." The only mention of consultation of the Pythian oracle by Lesbians occurs in the myths. Diodorus Siculus says that Lesbus, son of Lapithes, son of Aeolus, settled Lesbos in accordance with an oracle of Pythia.⁹⁷ And Pausanias, in the strange story of Dionysus of Methymna, says that Delphic oracle was sought.⁹⁸

In Delos there seems to have been a great deal of individual interest taken by the Lesbians of the third century B.C., and several inscriptions of this date, found at Delos,⁹⁹ praise benefactors from Lesbos. Lesbians likewise performed as musicians at the festival in Delos at the beginning of the third century B.C.¹⁰⁰ In June, 1903, there was found in Delos a fragment of a treaty of the early second century concluded between four Lesbian cities.¹⁰¹ No continuous sense can be derived from the mutilated text, but the final clauses deal with the settlement of disputes between the contracting states.

Twenty-three names of men in Lesbos are derived from names of Apollo, according to the tables given by Sittig in a dissertation, *De Graecorum Nominibus Theophoris*, Halle, 1911, p. 166. The percentage is higher than for the names formed from the cult of any other god in the island except Zeus. But still it is not so high as for most of the countries of Asia Minor.

Coin types from the middle of the fifth century show the importance of Apollo worship in Lesbos.¹⁰² In fact the earlier autonomous coins of Mytilene (440-200 B.C.) relate principally to Apollo; and he is still represented on coins of the second and first centuries B.C., though some other types are more frequent.¹⁰³ In Roman Imperial times his portrait occurs but seldom, especially in the

⁹⁷ Diod. Sic. V, 81; Alcaeus, Frgs. 2-4 (Bergk) also has a hymn to Delphian Apollo.

⁹⁸ Paus. X, 19, 3. I. G. XII, ii, 388, tells of a Lesbian victor in the games at Delphi. See pp. 59-60.

⁹⁹ I. G. XI, iv, 590, 594 and 623 and Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,² 588, l. 41.

¹⁰⁰ I. G. XI, ii, 105 and 108; Capps, *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXXI, 1900, pp. 112 f. and Robinson, *A. J. P.* XXV, 1904, pp. 184 ff.

¹⁰¹ B. C. H. XXIX, pp. 210 f. C. I. G. add. 2265 b, also from Delos, is concerned with towns of Lesbos. See also Tod, *Gr. Internat. Arbitration*, p. 39.

¹⁰² Before this date few gods are represented on Lesbian coins.

¹⁰³ Wroth, *Cat. p.* lxviii.

second and third centuries A.D.¹⁰⁴ The types are not unusual, except that on a stater of about 400 B.C.,¹⁰⁵ which in style does not closely resemble any other Apollo head occurring on coins of Lesbos. The expression is boyish, but the head is more mature than the *Sauroktonos* type. On coins of Commodus, Apollo is represented with Dionysus and Athena,¹⁰⁶ and on a Caracalla coin with Zeus Ammon.¹⁰⁷ Coins not only of Mytilene, but also of Methymna, Eresus, Antissa and Nape represent Apollo.

A list of the coins representing Apollo in Lesbos is as follows:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 155, no. 56-57(?); p. 158, no. 28; p. 160, no. 43-6; p. 162, no. 60(?), 61; p. 164, no. 85-94; p. 166, no. 101-4; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 502; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 313, no. 9-10.

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 184, no. 3-36; p. 192, no. 96-105; p. 201, no. 172; p. 208, no. 210; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 42, no. 70; p. 43, no. 73-8; p. 44, no. 83, 84, 87, 88; p. 49, no. 126, 128; p. 58, no. 173; Suppl. VI, p. 59, no. 41-5, 46-51(?); p. 61, no. 60-2; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 503; Head, H. N. p. 559=J. H. S. 1897, p. 86 and 1904, pp. 205 f.; p. 561; p. 562; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 1-3, 5; p. 318, no. 17.

Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 181, no. 35; p. 182, no. 39-41(?); Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 39, no. 52; Suppl. VI, p. 55, no. 28-9; p. 56, no. 36; Head, H. N. p. 561.

Eresus: Wroth, Cat. p. 176, no. 1(?); Head, H. N. p. 560(?).

Antissa: Wroth, Cat. p. 175, no. 7, 9; Head, H. N. p. 560.

Nape: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 60, no. 188; Suppl. VI, p. 78, no. 150, 152-3.

Uncertain mints: Wroth, Cat. pp. 174-5(?).

Tripod-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 168, no. 118-21. Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 189, no. 55-7; p. 197, no. 153-7; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 43, no. 79; Suppl. VI, p. 61, no. 63-4; Head, H. N. p. 562. Eresus: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 37, no. 39.

Artemis

Because of the proximity of Lesbos to the coast of Asia Minor and because of her special interest in colonies and territory on the mainland, we expect Artemis to be held in high honor among the Lesbians. And such is truly the case. But the Lesbian Artemis has more characteristics of the Greek than of the Asiatic goddess. With these

¹⁰⁴ Wroth, Cat. pp. 150-216.

¹⁰⁵ Wroth, Cat. Pl. XXXII, no. I; Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 349; G. F. Hill, J. H. S. XVII, 1897, p. 86, Pl. II, 9. See also K. A. McDowall, J. H. S. XXIV, 1904, pp. 205 f.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 66.

¹⁰⁷ Wroth, Cat. p. 208, no. 210; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 58, no. 173.

two kinds of influence at work, she becomes a deity of cults very interesting and worthy of special investigation. In her high position she ranks with Apollo and Dionysus as one of the most important deities of Lesbos. "The various streams of Greek colonization in the Mediterranean diffused the worship of Artemis, and we find it more widely spread than that of any other Hellenic goddess; it was implanted at an early time in Lemnos, in the Tauric Chersonese, and along the coasts of Asia Minor."¹

We know that one of her earliest aspects was that of a divinity connected with waters and wild vegetation and beasts, as in Arcadia and other places on the mainland of Greece.² Springs are frequently found in or near the temples of Artemis.³ And as a goddess of warm springs and baths we find her most important in Lesbos. The worship for which we have most evidence, especially in Mytilene, is that of Artemis *Θερμία*, which seems to have had the dignity of a state political cult.⁴ And though the oldest inscription preserved which records it dates from perhaps the third century B.C., it seems to have been long established. The site of the temple with the baths was at Thermae, modern Thermi, a short distance north of Mytilene, and not far from the coast.⁵ This is shown by the number of inscriptions found there,⁶ and by the ferruginous hot baths which still exist. Pococke saw great ruins of buildings, particularly of a colonnade leading to the baths from the south, the pedestals of which remained in his time.⁷ The inscriptions are dedications to the goddess. In an inscription preserved only by copy, I. G. XII, ii, 103,⁸ and perhaps found at this same place, we have mention of a spring and a water course—no doubt for the baths. The inscription reads as follows, . . . *ὡς τὰν κράνναν καὶ τὸ ὕδραγώγιον ἀπὸ Κεγχρέαν Ἀρτέμιδι Θερμία Εὐακόω*. Again, I. G. XII, ii, 106, which is probably correctly restored, gives a like dedication and reads, *ὁ δεῖνα τὰν κράνναν καὶ τὸ ἐξ Αὐτομ[]* . . .

¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 426.

² Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 559 f.

³ Springs of Thermopylae and Astyra, Marios and Phigalea were sacred to her, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* II, 1351; also springs at Corinth, Paus. II, 3, 5; at Derion in Laconia, Paus. III, 20, 7; at Mothone, Paus. IV, 35, 8.

⁴ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 168, note b.

⁵ Conze, *op. cit.* pp. 16 f.

⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 101, 103, 105, 106.

⁷ Newton, *Travels and Discoveries*, I, p. 60.

⁸ *Ephem. Epig.* II, p. 7 = Collitz, *Dial. Inschr.* no. 259. Also I. G. XII, ii, 105, likewise a dedication to Artemis *Θερμία Εὐακόως*, is probably a copy of no. 103.

ὕδραγώγ][ε][ι]ον (?) [Ἄρτεμιδι Θερμία] Εὐακόω καὶ τῷ δάμω. As goddess of warm springs and baths Artemis was worshipped in few places besides Lesbos.⁹ Hence it is interesting to find a similar cult at Baiae, in the valley of the Granicus,¹⁰ and near Poemanenum¹¹ in Mysia. When Aristides Rhetor was on his way to the Asclepieum at this place, he tells how he composed many hymns to Aesepus and to the nymphs and to Artemis *Θερμαία*, who has the warm springs, to give him release from all his ills and to restore him. It is very probable, as Gruppe suggests,¹² that the cult at Poemanenum is a branch of the Lesbian cult. And indeed in that region baths have lately been found.¹³ Gruppe also connects Cenchrea, mentioned in I. G. XII, ii, 103, with Cenchrius, a stream at the temple of Ephesian Artemis,¹⁴ and thinks they relate to the Boeotian cult. Cenchreae was also the name of a port near Corinth, of a town south of Argos,¹⁵ and of one in the Troad.

A goddess of warm springs and baths could very naturally become a goddess of healing;¹⁶ and *Εὐάκοος*, added to *Θερμία* in certain inscriptions,¹⁷ is thought by Wernicke to be derived from *ἀκέομαι* and to be equivalent to *Ἐπήκοος*.¹⁸ We find both *Εὐάκοος* and *Ἐπήκοος* used of Artemis in other places of the Greek world, but Jessen and Weinreich¹⁹ seem right in believing that his derivation for *Εὐάκοος* is not correct. Artemis is, indeed, considered the goddess of healing in Lesbos in connection with the baths, but this epithet has nothing to do with her healing power. It refers rather to a propitious hearing on the part of the goddess, and may be applied to any deity. For instance, Isis bears the name in another inscription from Mytilene.²⁰ The extensive range of the

⁹ At Rhodes, I. G. XII, i, 24, 1. 4. In Achaea called *Λουσία* and *Λουσιᾶτις*, Collitz, Dial. Inschr. 1601. Welcker, Gr. Götterlehre, II, p. 397.

¹⁰ C. I. G. II, 3695e add.

¹¹ Aristides, I, p. 503 (Dind.). See also Curtius, Hermes, VII, 1873, p. 411; Hasluck, Cyzicus, p. 102.

¹² Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 315.

¹³ Wiegand, Athen. Mitth. XXIX, 1904, p. 284.

¹⁴ Gruppe, Gr. Myth. pp. 279 f.

¹⁵ Paus. II, 24, 7.

¹⁶ Nilsson, Gr. Feste, p. 240.

¹⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 101, 103, 105.

¹⁸ Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1384; Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 467.

¹⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VI, 837. Athen. Mitth. XXXVII, 1912, pp. 1 f. (see esp. p. 28).

²⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 113.

titles Εὐάκοος and Ἐπήκοος has been well shown by Weinreich;²¹ and it looks as if Εὐάκοος were due to Eastern influence in the cult. Her healing power perhaps rested not originally with Artemis, but was acquired through her connection with Apollo.²² It is true that Apollo is likewise called Θέρμιος here at this sanctuary. But though abundant evidence exists for Artemis, we have only one inscription of Imperial times relating to Apollo. Hence his worship in this cult seems to have been a later innovation, because of his close relationship to Artemis.²³

Her temple at Thermae was probably rich in gifts as well as dedicatory tablets, and an inscription seems to catalogue sacred objects.²⁴ The site was also the center of a very important festival of Artemis Thermia, which doubtless rivalled in importance that of Apollo Maloeis,²⁵ whose sanctuary was not very far away. The celebration was known as the Θερμιακὰ Πανάγυρις, and has survived even to the present day in the festival of Saint Constantine, held at Thermi, to which come crowds of people from the surrounding country.²⁶ The agonistic side was emphasized, for ἀγωνοθέται are regularly mentioned, but sacrifices only once recorded.²⁷ The inscriptions relating to them are usually in the form of honor decrees in which the senate and people crown the priest and high priest and agonothete and panegyriarch of the *Thermiaca Panegyris*.²⁸

On the road leading from Mytilene to Thermi was found a stone of great interest. On one side it bears the inscription Μεγάλη Ἀρτεμις Θερμία and on the other, Μεγάλη Τύχη Μυτιλήνης.²⁹ This monument Paton believes to be either a terminus stone or an altar in the

²¹ Athen. Mitth. l. c. By far the greater number of such titles he says (p. 25), come from the islands, Asia Minor, farther East and Egypt. In this is shown the predominating influence of the Oriental cult.

²² Schreiber, Roscher's Lexikon, I, 583.

²³ See p. 9.

²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 13. The inscription is much broken and only a few items can be read.

²⁵ See pp. 6-9.

²⁶ Conze, *op. cit.* p. 16; Curtius, *Hermes*, VII, 1873, p. 411.

²⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 251. In I. G. XII, ii, 243, l. 10 = Collitz, *Dial. Inschr.* no. 241, Collitz reads also *θυσίας* for Paton's *ἡρώνας*.

²⁸ There are fourteen of these inscriptions found at Thermae, I. G. XII, ii, 239-252. Many give the names of priests, others of panegyriarch, strategos, benefactor, gymnasiarch, prytanis. Cf. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 241.

²⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 270 = B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 430, no. 14.

precinct of the two divinities.³⁰ Preller and Wernicke decide that we have here honored the protecting deity of the city, and that Artemis Thermia and the Tyche of Mytilene are identical.³¹ Very seldom was she identified with the Τύχαι of cities, even in Asia Minor.³² For Mytilene the coin evidence of the second and third centuries A. D., at least, is opposed to this identification. When the Tyche of Mytilene is represented on coins, she often bears in her hand the term of Dionysus, but rarely Artemis.³³ Numismatic evidence, however, shows that Artemis was one of the most prominent deities of this period. The inscribed stone would appear rather to be a boundary stone between the precinct of the goddess Artemis Θερμία and the territory belonging to the city of Mytilene.

Inscriptional evidence also indicates how important was Artemis in this region in the time of the Roman Emperors. A decree of the senate and the people³⁴ directs that the penalty for disobedience to a certain law be the payment of a fine to Artemis Thermia. It was further voted that this decree, perpetual for the safety and protection and good fortune of the city, be put up in the temple of Artemis Thermia.

An inscription has been found at Pano-Pyrgi, another suburb of Mytilene, which according to Paton's restoration mentions Artemis Thermia, but the restoration is very doubtful.³⁵ A second inscription, however, at Kato-Pyrgi,³⁶ certainly contains a dedication to her, and is interesting for two additional epithets. It reads, Μεγάλα³⁷ Θέω 'Αρτέμιδι Θε[ρμ]ία 'Ομοιοία. The dedication (a bronze statue) was made by two men in Roman times, in accordance with her command and oracular response.

³⁰ See Paton's note, I. G. I. c.

³¹ Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. p. 543, n. 1; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1369.

³² Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 470. He cites as perhaps the only instance, the city of Gerasa in the second century A. D., but in Pauly-Wissowa, *l. c.* more instances are given.

³³ See p. 76. One such representation with Artemis in the hand of Tyche is given by Wroth, Cat. p. 212, no. 227.

³⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 67, esp. l. 7.

³⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 275.

³⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 108 = Athen. Mitth. XI, 1886, p. 281, no. 42.

³⁷ Μεγάλα must be the correct restoration here, for the title is also prefixed to Artemis Thermia in two other instances, I. G. XII, ii, 270 and 514. Cf. Bruno Mueller, *Μέγας Θεός*, Halle, 1913, p. 332.

This association of the oracle with Artemis is very unusual, although prophecy is not entirely foreign to her. When it appears in her cult it is an element borrowed from Apollo worship.³⁸ In later times the oracle of Pergaia was celebrated,³⁹ and Artemis *Περγαία* appears on a late coin of Mytilene,⁴⁰ so that also in this case we may have influence from Asia Minor. Homonoia, the equivalent of the Roman Concordia, is prominent on the coins of some Greek states, but the name is given to Artemis only here.⁴¹ The epithet *Μεγάλη* or *Μεγίστη* is applied to Artemis in no inscription of Greece proper.⁴² There was, therefore, a combination of Roman and Asiatic influence at work in this cult in late times.

The cult of Artemis Thermia seems also to have been recognized in the central region of Lesbos. A stone now at Calloni bears an inscription dating from Roman times, which dedicates a dog to this goddess.⁴³ The dedicator is Claudius Lucianus of Alabanda, who is perhaps using a Lesbian cult rather than one of his home in Caria.⁴⁴ An inscription of about the second century B. C.⁴⁵ reads, (l. 3.) *ἐπὶ τῶν μυσ[τηρίων]*, (l. 5.) *τὰν Ἀρτεμιν*; and Papageorgiu⁴⁶ suggests *ἐλθ]έτω πρὸς τὰν* as a restoration for line 4. The inscription is entirely too fragmentary to decide what relation the word *μυστηρίων* bears to Artemis two lines below; but Nilsson⁴⁷ thinks perhaps rightly that there is reference to mysteries of Artemis in Mytilene. It is very true that in some places, for example Arcadia,⁴⁸ Artemis enters into close association with Demeter and Despoena. And the dedication of the dog,⁴⁹ representations of a dog or torch on Artemis coins,⁵⁰

³⁸ Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1353.

³⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1397.

⁴⁰ Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 505.

⁴¹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VIII, 2265 f. (esp. 2268).

⁴² In Greece itself seldom was any Greek god named by this epithet, but almost all the gods received by the Greeks are called *μεγάλοι* and *μέγιστοι*. Mueller, *op. cit.* pp. 307 and 331.

⁴³ I. G. XII, ii, 514.

⁴⁴ It is not clear where the stone was originally found, but the probability is that it stood in the village Daphnia (Calloni), where it now is. Paton would believe it was brought from Thermae, were the distance not so great.

⁴⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 26.

⁴⁶ Papageorgiu, 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1913, p. 225.

⁴⁷ Nilsson, Gr. Feste, p. 241.

⁴⁸ For examples see Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 455 and Roscher's Lexikon, I, 570 f.

⁴⁹ Bruno Mueller, *op. cit.* p. 333, believes I. G. XII, ii, 514 shows Artemis in the character of Hecate.

⁵⁰ See pp. 21-2.

the mention of mysteries, and a relief portraying Artemis-Hecate, found at Plagia,⁵¹ all tend to prove that in late times, at any rate, Artemis had some of the characteristics of Hecate.

An inscription of Hiera⁵² names Bresus as τᾱς τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλ(όν)τος ἀρχίχορος. Paton thinks that perhaps Artemis is here called Μαλόεσσα.⁵³ It seems much more reasonable to suppose that Μαλόεις applies only to Apollo, and that the Artemis designated is Artemis Θερμία, who had her sanctuary in a region not far distant from the Apollo temple.⁵⁴ If Artemis Μαλόεσσα were intended, she would scarcely be mentioned before the more famous Apollo of that name. Song and dance were evidently a feature of the festival of the goddess also.

Besides the very prominent Artemis Thermia, we have record of another cult of Artemis in Mytilene, through an inscription dating about the third century B. C.,⁵⁵ and found on the south slope of the citadel, . . . ἰθὼ Ἐρμώνεια Ἀρτέμιδι Αἰθοπίᾳ. We know also from an epigram attributed to Sappho,⁵⁶ that Artemis had the name Αἰθοπία in Lesbos. An early cult of the goddess, brought over the sea from Greece seems here designated. In Stephanus we find, Αἰθίοπιον⁵⁷ χωρίον Λυδίας παρὰ Ἰλλῶ ἢ πλησίον τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Ἀρτεμις Αἰθοπία. οἱ δέ, ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθίοψι διάγουσαν Ἀπόλλων ἤγαγεν αὐτήν. οἱ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ σελήνῃ, παρὰ τὸ αἶθειν, ὡς Καλλίμαχος. οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ Ἑκάτῃ ἥτις αἰεὶ δᾶδας κατέχει ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης.⁵⁸

It is "hazardous to refer all words that denote fire or brightness to the celestial bodies off-hand, and to conclude that Αἰθοπία must refer to the bright faced goddess of the moon."⁵⁹ It has just been said that Artemis had some of the characteristics of Hecate in Lesbos. But it is much more likely that this cult had some connection with

⁵¹ See p. 21.

⁵² I. G. XII, ii, 484, ll. 18-20. The inscription dates from the first century A. D. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1353.

⁵³ I. G. XII, ii, Index, "Res Sacrae," Ἀρτεμις.

⁵⁴ See pp. 6-9.

⁵⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 92; Rev. des Études grecques, V, 1892, p. 413; Bechtel, Aeolica, p. 22, no. 20.

⁵⁶ Sappho, Epigram, 118 (Bergk) = Anth. Pal. VI, 269.

⁵⁷ Dindorf, Westermann, etc. read Αἰθίοπιον, and by one etymology it is derived from Αἰθίοπες, but Αἰθοπία is necessary in the epigram. See Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encycl. II, 1379.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hesych. s. v. Αἰθοπίης παῖδα (αἰθίοπης cod. corrected to αἰθοπίης, Bentley) and Harpocration, s. v. Αἰθίοπιον.

⁵⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 457.

the place Αἰθόπιον of Euboea, in the region of the Euripus, as the passage of Stephanus locates it. Bechtel⁶⁰ calls attention to the fact that this report of Stephanus is so much the more worthy of consideration as Poseidon Ἐλύμνιος seems to have been brought from over the sea.⁶¹ It also accords well with what we know of the early colonization of Lesbos,⁶² and with the fact that this inscription was found in the oldest part of the city. In connection with this argument the name Aethiope, which Pliny gives as one of the early names of Lesbos, is significant.⁶³ It is true that Plehn attributes the appellation to the occupation of the island by the Amazons.⁶⁴ But the importation of the name from Euboea seems more suited to the facts of the case. The early importance of the cult of Artemis Αἰθοπία would then be naturally inferred.

For Methymna, Clement of Alexandria⁶⁵ records an epithet of Artemis which is very puzzling when he says, Κονδυλῆτις ἐν Μηθύμνῃ ἑτέρα πετίμηται Ἀρτεμις. Attempts to explain Κονδυλῆτις are very unsatisfactory.⁶⁶ It is by some associated with the epithet Κονδυλεᾶτις, which belonged to Artemis at Condylea in Arcadia. There we have the curious story as told by Pausanias,⁶⁷ of the "Strangled Artemis," which Farnell considers a vegetation deity. Usener suggests a derivation from Candaules for both Arcadian and Lesbian goddess.⁶⁸ Curtius derives the name from κονδυλόμαι "to swell,"⁶⁹ and believes that she was a divinity of the heights and mountains. At present we have not enough evidence to decide; but as the Arcadian and Lesbian dialects are remotely connected, and there are faint indications of the Arcadian character of the goddess in Lesbos, Artemis Κονδυλῆτις may perhaps be traced to the Arcadian goddess.

⁶⁰ Bechtel, *Aeolica*, l. c.

⁶¹ See p. 41.

⁶² See Introduction, pp. viii f.

⁶³ Pliny, H. N. V, 139. See Introduction, pp. vii-viii.

⁶⁴ Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 4. The form Aethiope instead of Aethopie could easily be written because of confusion with the better known word, as the corrupt forms in the Greek passages show.

⁶⁵ Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* II, 38.

⁶⁶ Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* II, 1390, suggests that ἐν Μηθύμνῃ rests on an error.

⁶⁷ Paus. VIII, 23, 6. Cf. Höfer, Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, 1283. Farnell *op. cit.* II, p. 428.

⁶⁸ *Rh. Mus.* XXIII, 1868, p. 336, n. 56.

⁶⁹ *Sitzungsber. d. k. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1887, pp. 1170 and 1179.

From Eresus there is definite evidence of only one cult name, and that appears to be a very doubtful reading. An inscription⁷⁰ records the dedication of a stoa to Artemis *Δρηνεία*. This is the first occurrence of the epithet, and according to Papageorgiu it must equal *Δρανεία*, taking its name from *δρᾶνος*.⁷¹

Not much emphasis must be placed on the fact that Artemis is mentioned as a goddess of purification in Lesbos. Arctinus names her together with Apollo and Leto,⁷² but she is probably introduced only because of her mythological family relation to Apollo.

At the end of the third century the city of Magnesia on the Meander decided to increase the importance of its worship of Artemis *Λευκοφρυανᾶ* by establishing a Pan-Hellenic festival in her honor. Ambassadors were sent to many cities of Greece and the islands, among them to Lesbos.⁷³ The festival is described in lines 12f. of the inscription found at Magnesia⁷⁴ as *Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυανᾶ διὰ πέντε ἑτέων θυσίαν καὶ πανάγυριν καὶ ἑκχειρίαν καὶ ἀγῶνα στεφανίταν ἱσοπίθιον μουσικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν*. Methymna and Antissa with certainty accepted the invitation to take part in the sacrifices and games, and either Mytilene or Eresus likewise consented. We do not know how long they participated, but we do know that the festival continued till the middle of the second century B. C.⁷⁵

Besides the evidence afforded by inscriptions⁷⁶ and literature, the coin representations are numerous at Mytilene, but have been found at none of the other sites except Nape. Even at Mytilene Artemis was not used frequently as a type until the second and third centuries A.D.⁷⁷ She is usually represented as clad in a short chiton, and holding a quiver; sometimes as riding on a stag or in a chariot drawn by two stags, or running with a dog beside her. On a coin of Valerian she stands before the Tyche of Mytilene,⁷⁸ and on another Tyche holds Artemis in her right hand.⁷⁹ On a coin of the

⁷⁰ Papageorgiu, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1913, p. 227.

⁷¹ Hesych. *δρᾶνος* ἔργον. *πρᾶξις* . . . *δύναμις*.

⁷² Epic. Graec. Frg. (Kinkel) p. 33.

⁷³ O. Kern, *Hermes*, XXXVI, 1901, pp. 491 f.

⁷⁴ Kern, *Inscr. v. Magnesia*, no. 52.

⁷⁵ Kern, *Hermes*, 1901, p. 515.

⁷⁶ In a dedicatory inscription from Mytilene, I. G. XII, ii, 91, Paton makes a very doubtful restoration [*Ἀρτέμι*]. In I. G. XII, ii, 253, the restoration is much more certain, *Ἀρτ[έμιδι]*.

⁷⁷ Wroth, *Cat.* pp. 198-215.

⁷⁸ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 212, no. 226.

⁷⁹ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 212, no. 227.

Emperor Commodus the figure of Artemis of Perga wearing a chiton, with a diplois, veil and modius, and holding in her right hand a scepter (?), in her left a torch, stands before the Tyche of Mytilene.⁸⁰ A coin of Hadrian shows her holding a long torch with both hands.⁸¹ The influence of Artemis of Ephesus⁸² and Artemis of Pergamum,⁸³ who are depicted on alliance coins, doubtless spread in later times.

Two representations of Artemis in sculpture have been found in Lesbos. One is the best piece of Lesbian sculpture yet discovered.⁸⁴ It is under life size, measuring only 1.07 m, and represents the goddess leaning on a pillar. Her left hand is on her hip, her legs are crossed, and the right calf and ankle appear swollen, according to Salomon Reinach. He says the statue belongs to a variety of the Artemis type which is not often to be met with, and one which is greatly influenced by the kindred type of Amazons. He thinks it may have been inspired by one of the statues of Praxiteles.

At Plagia, on the southern shore of Lesbos, was found a slab sculptured in relief representing a figure of Artemis-Hecate, running with a torch in each hand, and at her side a hound. She is dressed in a chiton reaching only to the knees and girded under the breast, and has a small mantle about the shoulders.⁸⁵

An inscription⁸⁶ from the Troad (near Tschanakkalesi) reads, *Αὐρ. Θεόφιλος Μυτιληναῖος δημοτέκτων*, and has to the right a picture of Artemis.

Nineteen names of people are derived from the Artemis cult according to the table of Sittig,⁸⁷ a number greater than is found from any other deity except Zeus and Apollo.

A list of coins representing Artemis is as follows:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 164, no. 83(?).

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 192, no. 96-8, 100-5 (countermark); p. 196,

⁸⁰ Wroth, Cat. p. 215, no. 235.

⁸¹ Wroth, Cat. p. 205, no. 198 (see note about genuineness); Mionnet, Descr. p. 51, no. 135; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 505. Compare with the sculpture relief, below.

⁸² The use of *Μεγάλη* (see p. 17) calls to mind Artemis of Ephesus. Represented on Alliance coins, Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 505; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 46, no. 101 (Cybele between Asclepius and Artemis of Ephesus).

⁸³ Wroth, Cat. p. 214, no. 234.

⁸⁴ Found about 1865, and now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. Only the right hand and left thumb are broken. Published by S. Reinach, A. J. A. I, 1885, pp. 319 f. and Pl. IX.

⁸⁵ Newton, Travels and Discoveries, II, p. 12; Conze, *op. cit.* p. 49.

⁸⁶ Athen. Mitth. VI, 1881, p. 227.

⁸⁷ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 166.

no. 145-52; p. 201, no. 175; p. 202, no. 181-2; p. 205, no. 198; p. 206, no. 200; p. 207, no. 203, 205(?); p. 208, no. 209; p. 209, no. 214; p. 210, no. 219; p. 212, no. 226-8; p. 213, no. 231; p. 214, no. 234 (Pergamum); p. 215, no. 235 (Perga); Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 46, no. 101; p. 47, no. 114; p. 51, no. 131, 135-6; p. 56, no. 164; p. 57, no. 171(?); p. 58, no. 176; p. 59, no. 178-80; p. 60, no. 185; Suppl. VI, p. 58, no. 39, 40; p. 60, no. 51 (countermark); p. 61, no. 60, 65-6; p. 63, no. 78-9; p. 72, no. 126-7; p. 73, no. 131; p. 75, no. 138; p. 76, no. 141-2; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 503; p. 505; Head, H. N. p. 562; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 5 (countermark); p. 317, no. 13; p. 319, no. 21-2.
 Eresus: Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 53, no. 21.
 Nape: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 61, no. 189.
 Quiver-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 187, no. 34.

Zeus

Though in later times more popular gods such as Dionysus, Apollo and Artemis surpassed Zeus in the importance of their cults in Lesbos, the worship of Zeus was established among the first and always held a prominent place, as literature, inscriptions and coins show. One of the earliest localities where Zeus was held in honor by the Greeks was Dodona, and there is a tradition which says,¹ "It is said that Lesbos also was once Pelasgian, and from Dodona is Pelasgian Zeus, according to the poet." Also Macar, the most famous of the early settlers of Lesbos, about whom many stories center, and whose sons and daughters were the eponymous heroes and heroines of the cities and mountains of Lesbos, was called the grandson of Zeus.²

At Eresus, one of the months 'Ομολόϊος³ seems to have been named from the cult of Zeus by the early settlers. For in Thebes and in other cities of Boeotia, and also in Thessaly, Zeus 'Ομολώϊος⁴ was an important deity. A festival and month of the name existed also in Boeotia.⁵

A name which must likewise go back to early times is given by Hesychius,⁶ who says that Zeus was called Εὐφημος in Lesbos. Farnell

¹ There was certainly a Pelasgian tradition in Lesbos, Plehn, *op. cit.* pp. 27-34.

² Diod. Sic. V, 81.

³ I. G. XII, ii, 527, l. 44.

⁴ Suidas, s. v. 'Ομολώϊος Ζεύς.

⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. IV, 2717. For Thessaly, Schol. Theoc. VII, 103. Month 'Ομολώϊος in Boeotia, I. G. VII, 246, l. 3 and 270, l. 1, etc. The name may go back to Mt. Homolos in Thessaly. See Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXVI, 1891, pp. 215 f. and W. Radtke, *Hermes*, XXXVI, 1901, p. 45; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 13.

⁶ Hesych. s. v. Εὐφημος. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 350, n. 8.

rightly thinks that the title must have alluded to the idea of "Οσσα, "the voice in the air as his messenger."⁷ Epithets of a somewhat similar significance occur on the mainland of Greece, and Studniczka suggests a connection between Euphemus, Eumolpus and like names of legendary characters, and such old cult epithets of the god as Εὐφημος.⁸

One of the prevailing ideas about Zeus in Lesbos was that he was a god of high places, an idea which was very common also in Greece. Many of his epithets⁹ as well as the lofty situation of some of his temples show this.¹⁰ And we find in Lesbos both the names "Υψιστος and "Υπατος which at first denoted the deity worshipped in high places, and later acquired a moral significance.¹¹ An inscription from Mytilene¹² is the most interesting of those containing this epithet. It reads,

Ζηνὶ θεῶν ὑπάτῳ πανεπώπῃ καὶ Πλούτῳ
ἡδὲ Ποσειδάωνι πανασφαλίοι[s] ἀνέθηκε
Ζωσίμῃ οὐρανίῳ θεοῦ σωθεῖσα προνοίᾳ
σὺν παιδὶ σφετέρῳ, πάντας ζῶνους δὲ λαβοῦσα.

To ὑπατος¹³ is added the second epithet πανεπώπης,¹⁴ a notion which originated, it would seem, from Zeus as god of the sky, or from the situation of his sanctuary in a lofty place. From this inscription of thanksgiving alone we should suppose that the three deities had been particularly selected because they were gods of the storm, death and the sea respectively, by whose instrumentality Zosime was saved. In I. G. XII, ii, 119, Zeus is also thanked because of a family saved from a storm at sea, and in I. G. XII, ii, 126, he is addressed as god of thunder. But in connection with the inscription of Zosime a coin of Mytilene¹⁵ should be noted, which represents

⁷ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 40.

⁸ Studniczka, Kyrene, pp. 114 f.

⁹ C. Albers, De Diis in locis altis apud Graecos, Zutpin, 1901, pp. 27 f.

¹⁰ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 50.

¹¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 51.

¹² Papageorgiu, Uned. Inschr. v. Myt. no. 8 = Athen. Mitth. XXIV, 1889, p. 358. "Υψιστος is found in I. G. XII, ii, 115, 119, 125, 126, and Papageorgiu, 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1913, p. 228 = David, 'Ανέκδ. Έπιγρ. no. 5.

¹³ This name for Zeus is very frequent in Boeotia, Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 13.

¹⁴ David, *op. cit.* no. 2, published independently of Papageorgiu and reads πανεπώπ(η).

¹⁵ Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 504; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 46, no. 102.

Zeus, Pluto and Poseidon with the legend *θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι Μυτιληναίων*. "This type may have arisen from the casual juxtaposition of the three gods on the acropolis or on the heights above the sea.¹⁶ This seems more likely than that here in Mytilene we should have the notion of a religious trinity"; though as Farnell points out, "we may discern dimly the idea of a divine One-in-Three, for having mentioned the Three Zosime adds that she was saved by the Providence of God."¹⁷

At a place called Hyperdexion were Zeus Ὑπερδέξιος and Athena Ὑπερδεξία.¹⁸ These epithets were in all probability due to the situation of the temples of Zeus and Athena in a high place, overlooking one of the towns of Lesbos. This is more probable than that it had the connotation of "superior to," "victor over," and was somewhat analogous to the names Σωτήρ and Σώτειρα.

This cult of Zeus Σωτήρ, which was so common through the Greek world, existed in Methymna, according to an inscription¹⁹ of the time of Ptolemy IV, Philopator (221-205 B. C.). In this inscription the sacrifice of a bull to Zeus Σωτήρ is recorded. From a passage of Longus' Pastoral, IV, 25, it is probable that the cult prevailed also at Mytilene.

On the obverse of the coin which represents Zeus, Pluto and Poseidon, there is a figure of Zeus, with the legend *Ζεὺς Βουλαῖος*.²⁰ This is perhaps to be connected with the fact that in an important decree of Mytilene²¹ provision is made to place a copy *πρὸ τῷ εἴρω βολλευτηρίῳ*. The adjective "sacred" is probably applied to the *Bouleuterion* because of the cult ceremonies which took place there relative to the proceedings of the senate. Pausanias reports a *xoanon* of Zeus Βουλαῖος in the *Bouleuterion* at Athens.²²

¹⁶ Farnell, *op. cit.* III, pp. 287-8. For other examples of Zeus ἀκραῖος, ἐπάκριος and κορυφαῖος see Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 154; Ἀκραῖος, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 1193.

¹⁷ A. B. Cook, Cl. Rev. XVII, 1904, pp. 75 f. believes the coin represents Zeus in a three-fold aspect, and traces the influence to a prehistoric Argive-Lycian Zeus trinity. Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 59-60.

¹⁸ Steph. Byz. s. v. Ὑπερδέξιον.

¹⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 498 = Dittenberger, O. G. I. no. 78, l. 18 = B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 433, no. 21.

²⁰ Occurs also on coins of Valerian and Gallienus. Wroth, Cat. p. 201, no. 177.

²¹ I. G. XII, ii, 67.

²² Paus. I, 3, 5.

In I. G. XII, ii, 239, there is a probable restoration τῶ Μαιμα[κτῆρος], and in I. G. XII, ii, 70, there is mention of Μαιμακτῆρες. *Maimakterion*, according to Harpocration,²³ took its name from Zeus Μαιμάκτης. Perhaps these two names signify storm deities, and in some way relate to the Zeus cult.

Μέγιστος, an epithet very naturally applied to Zeus, occurs in inscriptions found at Thermae and Eresus.²⁴ The Zeus cult most easily tended to combine with the cults of the kings and emperors; and Μέγιστος, having a general significance, was especially suited to this use. Accordingly we find at Mytilene a prayer addressed to ὁ κράτιστος καὶ μέγιστος θεῶν Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ θεὸς Σεβαστός.²⁵

And likewise the inscription I. G. XII, ii, 58, connects the cults of Zeus and the deified emperors, if the restoration holds. Even as early as the fourth century we hear of an altar of Zeus Φιλίππιος at Eresus.²⁶ And in later times divine honors for men were frequently signified by the title Zeus with the additional epithets Ὀλύμπιος²⁷ and Ἐλευθέριος.²⁸

The combination of Zeus with Helius, Serapis and Isis, which was common in later times in Egypt, we find also in an inscription from Mytilene.²⁹ But this dedication to Ζεὺς Ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπισ and ἡ κυρὰ Ἴσις was made by a citizen of Alexandria, who was probably honoring the gods of Egypt.

The name Ἐλευθέριος seems to have become identified in Lesbos with Zeus Ammon. It is found in the inscription from Hiera,³⁰ which records Bresus as Δίος Αἰθερίω καὶ Ἀμμωνος Ἐλευθερίω . . . καὶ τῶ Δίος τῶ Μαινολίω πάρεδ(ρ)ος. Zeus Ammon was chief god in Cyrene, and from that region made his way into Greece. Here his cult was never very widespread,³¹ but the region about Mytilene seems to

²³ Harpocration, s. v. Μαιμακτηριών. Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 64.

²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 100 and 542.

²⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 278.

²⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 526 a, l. 5.

²⁷ Hadrian regularly assumed the name. It occurs in Lesbian inscriptions of Hadrian in I. G. XII, ii, 183-97; and of Augustus in I. G. XII, ii, 206, 209, 540, 656.

²⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 156 (prob. of Augustus); 185, 191-8, 214 (of Hadrian); 163 b (of Theophanes of Mytilene).

²⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 114. See p. 75.

³⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 484.

³¹ Studniczka, Kyrene, pp. 6 and 84; Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 249; Ed. Meyer, *Roscher's Lexikon*, I, 289.

have especially welcomed it. Of this the electrum *hektai* of Lesbos (440-350 B. C.) and the coins of later times³² give conclusive testimony. He is represented as horned, and sometimes with beard, sometimes without.

The other names of Zeus in the Hiera inscription, *Αιθέριος* and *Μαινόλιος*,³³ occur nowhere else in the present evidence from Lesbos. In fact *Μαινόλιος* seems not to have been used elsewhere of Zeus, but Mainoles was often applied to Dionysus and his band.³⁴ *Αιθέριος* is not a frequent epithet of Zeus, but the connotation is natural, and is appropriate to his character as god of the sky and of high places, discussed in the preceding pages.³⁵

About festivals of Zeus at Mytilene there is very uncertain information. An inscription³⁶ conferring honor on Augustus contains the expression *ἅθλα ὅσα ὁ Διακὸς νόμος περιέχει*, but the inscription is too fragmentary to learn the context. A festival of Zeus would thereby be inferred,³⁷ however. Likewise the gravestone of a pancratiast mentions a victory *Μιτυλήνην Ἀμυώνηα παίδων καὶ ἀγενείων*.³⁸ Cagnat suggests *Ἀμυώνηα*, and says it belonged to the *κοινὸν Ἀσίας*—the festivals taking place each time in a city with a provincial temple. The only mention of Zeus at Eresus besides Zeus *Φιλίππιος*³⁹ is found in that same inscription against tyrants of the fourth century. In the trial of the tyrant Eurysilaus the judges were to swear by Zeus and Helios. As no local cult name is mentioned, however, appeal is made to Zeus only because of his general function as god of oaths.

More names of men are derived from that of Zeus than from the name of any other god in Lesbos, according to the tables of Sittig.⁴⁰ This is an unusual state of things for territory about Asia Minor, but very frequently the case for Greece.

³² See list of Zeus coins in Lesbos, p. 27.

³³ *Ἐπαίν(ω)* is read by Collitz in his publication, Dial. Inschr. no. 255.

³⁴ Roscher's Lexikon, II, 2283-4.

³⁵ Gruppe, Gr. Myth. 1101, n. 1; 1114, n. 3. Cook, Zeus, I, p. 26.

³⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 58, l. 8.

³⁷ In the same inscription, l. 15, *τὰς δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν [θυσίας . . . ἐν τῷ ναῶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]* may mean that yearly sacrifices were held in the temple of Zeus, but the restoration is by no means certain.

³⁸ Rev. des Études grecques, 1906, p. 254=Cagnat et Besnier, L'Année Epigr. 1907, no. 37.

³⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 526 a, l. 5.

⁴⁰ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

Lesbos, as far as we know, took no part in Zeus cults elsewhere, but Pausanias⁴¹ tells us that Archippus of Mytilene won the crown at Olympia and at Nemea.

The portrait of Zeus is very frequent on the obverse of coins, and he is usually represented as laureate and bearded. Often it is difficult to distinguish him from Asclepius on the coins.

The coins of Lesbos which represent Zeus are as follows:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 167, no. 113(?), 114(?); p. 168, no. 115-7 (Zeus or Asclepius).

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 196, no. 139 (Silenus or Zeus), 140-4; p. 201, no. 177; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 45, no. 97; p. 46, no. 101-2; Suppl. VI, p. 66, no. 95; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 504; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 317, no. 12; Riv. Ital. di Numis. 1908, p. 321.

Methymna: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 40, no. 59; p. 42, no. 67.

Eresus: Mionnet, Descr. p. 37, no. 36; Suppl. VI, p. 52, no. 16.

Zeus Ammon-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 161, no. 57; p. 167, no. 110-2; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316; no. 6; Yale Cat. of Coins, p. 18. Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 193, no. 106-38; p. 202, no. 178-84; p. 208, no. 210; p. 214, no. 233; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 44, no. 90-6; p. 45, no. 98-100; p. 58, no. 173; Suppl. VI, p. 62, no. 73-6; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 503; Head, H. N. pp. 559, 562; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 6-11; p. 318, no. 17. Babelon, Monn. gr. rom. II, 2, pp. 1219 f.; 1227 f. Cook, Zeus I, p. 371. Methymna: Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 55, no. 30.

Thunderbolt-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 185, no. 9; p. 187, no. 28; p. 191, no. 80; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 43, no. 76; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 3. Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 171, no. 1-9; Head, H. N. p. 559(?). Antissa: Wroth, Cat. p. 175, no. 1.

Eagle-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 186, no. 25(?); p. 189, no. 62-5; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 4.

⁴¹ Paus. VI, 15, 1.

Hera

Some of the Aeolian peoples seem to have taken no part in the worship of Hera. And indeed in Lesbos she was obviously not an important deity, though she met with early recognition. For there was held at her sanctuary a contest of beauty for women, called the *Καλλιστεία*,¹ which seems to have been long established and well known. Preller, Gruppe² and others think it was such a festival that served as a pattern in the composition of the "Judgment of

¹ Schol. II. IX, 129.

² Gruppe, Gr. Myth. pp. 299 and 636; Preller-Robert, p. 163, n. 3.

Paris." Athenaeus, quoting Theophrastus,³ says that these contests of women about *κάλλος* were held among the people of Tenedos and Lesbos (just as those about *σωφροσύνη* and *οἰκονομία* were held in other places), on the ground that beauty also must be held in honor. A poem in the Anthology⁴ describes this contest.

Ἐλθετε πρὸς τέμενος ταυρώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης
 Λεσβίδες, ἀβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ' ἐλίσσόμεναι,
 ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇ χορόν· ὕμμι δ' ἀπάρξει
 Σαπφῶ χρυσεῖην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.
 Ὅλβιαι ὀρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἧ γλυκὺν ὕμνον
 Εἰσατεῖν αὐτῆς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.

It seems that later Priapus⁵ became associated with the festival. Hesychius calls the maidens who won Πυλαιίδεες,⁶ from which it is likely that the contest was held in the region near Mytilene, since Pylaeus was a mountain north of the city.⁷ As Tümpel says, we should expect such a contest to be associated with Aphrodite, and there seems to have been an Aphrodite of Callone in the region of Pyrrha. This manifestation of Hera is closely related then to Aphrodite, just as in Sparta we find an Aphrodite-Hera.⁸

The proper names derived from Hera are very few. Sittig⁹ records only four, which makes a lower percentage than for any other of the Olympian deities.

The coins which represent Hera are also few, and bear the same type in every case, i. e., a female head wearing a stephanos, and sometimes with earrings.

The following coins of Lesbos represent Hera:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 163, no. 72-3; p. 167, no. 106-8(?).

Mytilene: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 53, no. 144.

Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 171, no. 2-9(?). Head, H. N. p. 559.

³ Athen. XIII, p. 610. Theophrastus, a Lesbian, is a particularly good authority.

⁴ Anth. Pal. IX. 189.

⁵ Suidas, Καλλιστεῖα· τοιγὰρ τῷ κρίναντι τὰ Καλλιστεῖα Πριάπῳ νεβρίδα καὶ χρυσέην τήνδ' ἔθετο προχόην.

⁶ Hesych. s. v.

⁷ Strabo, XIII, 621.

⁸ Tümpel, Philol. 1891, pp. 567-8, esp. note 12.

⁹ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

Athena

The Athena cult was especially important in southern Thessaly and Boeotia. It is rather surprising, therefore, to find no trace of Athena in the stories concerning the early history of Lesbos. But the silence is due no doubt to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. The earliest recognition of her which our present material reveals is shown by a coin¹ of perhaps the sixth century, representing the *Gorgoneion*. This is one of the few attributes of gods on Lesbian coins dating before 480 B. C.²

Two of the cult names of which we have record were, as far as we know, peculiar to Lesbos. One is Athena Ὑπερδξία, who with Zeus Ὑπερδέξιος was honored at Hyperdexion.³ The place is otherwise unknown, nor is it clear whether the gods received their names from the site, or whether the place was designated by their cult epithet. The former, however, seems more likely. The same title applied to Zeus and Athena as sharers of a cult is not unusual.⁴

The other name of Athena which occurs only in Lesbos is Ἰδήνα. Concerning her an inscription of Roman times⁵ found at Plagia reads,

Ἀρίστα Ζώη Βακχωνείω μάτηρ
Ἀφροδίτα, Ἀθήνα Ἰδήνα Ὑπακώω.

The last line cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. Ἰδήνα may be a distinct deity,⁶ though it is not at all likely. But the name as a cult epithet of Athena cannot be explained. The form may be due to an error on the part of the stone-cutter or the proper reading may be Ἀθήνα Δήνα.⁷ It seems preferable to keep the reading Ἀθήνα Ἰδήνα until we have more information about the subject, and to consider Ἰδήνα as a cult title of the goddess peculiar to Lesbos. If Ἰδήνα applies only to Athena, it is more reasonable to suppose that Ὑπακώω relates to her alone, likewise.

¹ Wroth, Cat. p. 160, no. 6. The *Gorgoneion* occurs also on a coin of about 480 B. C., Wroth, Cat. p. 157, no. 14; and the head of Athena, Wroth, Cat. p. 158, no. 27.

² About 480 the famous staters and sixths coined by Mytilene and Phocaea began to be issued, and deities became more frequent as types.

³ Steph. Byz. s. v. Ὑπερδέξιον.

⁴ Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. p. 220, n. 4; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 1217, n. 3.

⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 476 = Collitz, Dial. Inschr. no. 297. Not earlier than 2nd century A. D.

⁶ Kaibel, Gr. Epigr. no. 812, note.

⁷ Kaibel, *l. c.*

The other epithets of Athena in the island are common ones. At Mytilene an inscription⁸ of Imperial times presents a dedication to Athena Σώτειρα by six people. This is an epithet frequently used of Zeus, and suggests again her close relation to her father in Lesbos. The temple to Athena in Mytilene probably stood in the oldest part of the city on the acropolis,⁹ where two inscriptions of the fourth or third century have been found, which show the importance of her temple as a repository for decrees of honor. One was found at the fort and honors a citizen who helped the city financially.¹⁰ The other was found on the south slope of the citadel, and gives ἀτέλεια and ἀσυλία to two men of Smyrna.¹¹ The latter decree was put up in the temple of Athena (I.16), which must have been "the sacred treasury" if Bechtel's conjecture¹² εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ταμ[είον] is correct.

A dedication¹³ of a much later date (second century A. D.) was found near this site. The inscription says, Ἀθηνᾶ . . . Βηρύλλα . . . τὸ[ν ὀφθαλμόν](?). The restoration is made because of the picture of an eye on the stone, just above the inscription. Dedications of similar form¹⁴ make it possible that Berulla gave this thank offering to Athena because her sight was restored. But it seems better to connect this with the eye that occurs as a type on early coins of Mytilene,¹⁵ and to suppose that it was a symbol of Athena in Lesbos. Athena would then have characteristics of Athena Ὀξυτερκῆς or Ὀφθαλμίτις, as at Argos and Sparta.

In I. G. XII, ii, 653, a vow which appears to be incorrectly copied from the stone reads Ἀθηνᾶ εὐσεβέωνην Μαρκος Πομπηϊος Ἡθικός ποιητῆς εὐχεν.¹⁶ Paton suggests that this may be a dedication to Athena Ἰδήνα.

At the town of Hieria on the southern shore, Bresus held the title τᾶς τε Πολιάδος Ἀθάνας παρακελεύστας ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος.¹⁷ There was a

⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 111.

⁹ Where is now the fortress erected by the Turks.

¹⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 5=Athen. Mitth. XIV, 1889, p. 255, no. 28.

¹¹ I. G. XII, ii, 12, esp. l. 16.

¹² Bechtel, *Aeolica*, p. 4, esp. part B, l. 53.

¹³ I. G. XII, ii, 121.

¹⁴ For similar offerings see Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, p. 215.

¹⁵ Ridgeway, *Cl. Rev.* IX, 1895, p. 334, n. 5, thinks the eye on the coins is due to some Egyptian influence.

¹⁶ A restoration by Papageorgiu, *Uned. Inschr. v. Myt.* no. 34, Ἀθ[άνα] is too doubtful to be accepted.

¹⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 484, first century A. D.

temple for this cult of Athena Polias at Eresus also, for in an agreement between Lesbos and Rhodes¹⁸ of the third century B. C., found at Eresus, directions were given that the Lesbians erect a stele with a copy of the decree in the temple of Athena Polias. The same temple is doubtless meant when in I. G. XII, ii, 529, directions are given for placing one copy of the decree in the *Athenaion*.

At Methymna likewise Athena was regarded as a deity of health and political protection. An inscription which praises Aristophanes, son of Aristophanes,¹⁹ decrees among other things sacrifice to Athena for the health and safety of the *συμφυλέται*.²⁰ The same inscription directs that Aristophanes be crowned every year at the temple of Athena. The goddess appears to be an Athena Soteira, such as we find in Mytilene, or an Athena Polias, such as at Eresus. Not only is her temple mentioned, but some annual celebration of a festival may be inferred.

But the best evidence for the importance of Athena at Methymna is the use of her portrait on coins from the fifth century until the time of the Roman Empire, almost to the exclusion of any other deity. Only her head, with the crested Corinthian helmet, is as a rule depicted. In later times Dionysus and his symbols become conspicuous, and coins of that city represent the two divinities together, sometimes with the addition of Apollo or Demeter (or Core).²¹ The importance of the cults is the only reason apparent for the grouping.

Names derived from the cult of Athena are not so numerous as we should expect. Sittig²² reports only six out of 230 names derived from those of gods. Paton believes that there was a garden near Mytilene called *'Αθηνάδιον*.²³

A head of Athena,²⁴ of white marble, much less than life size, was found in Lesbos. The hair is parted and shows in waves beneath

¹⁸ Papageorgiu, *'Ρόδος καὶ Λέσβος*, Leipzig, 1913 = David, *'Ανέκ. 'Επιγρ.* no. 1, l. 21.

¹⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 505.

²⁰ The tribe *Αιολῆς*, of which Aristophanes was phylarch, is here referred to. Date, 2nd century B. C. A similar inscription, I. G. XII, ii, 504, probably also refers to Athena in the words (ll. 6 and 7) *πρὸς τῇ θεᾷ*.

²¹ See p. 66.

²² Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 166.

²³ I. G. XII, ii, 78 b and p. 38, note 78. Paton places it, however, in Index I, *Nomina Virorum et Mulierum*.

²⁴ Papageorgiu, *Uned. Inschr. v. Myt.* p. xiii. The head is now in the school in Mytilene.

her Corinthian helmet, and the expression is pleasing, almost smiling. The type is that of a young girl.

In the treasure lists of the "Hekatompedon" at Athens, at the beginning of the fourth century, there is the entry,²⁵ *συβήνη ἐλεφαντίνη ἡ παρὰ Μηθυμναίων ἐπίχρυσος*. Also another item²⁶ of 357—6 reads, *στέφανος Μυτιληναίων ἀνάθημα σταθμόν Δ Δ Δ Δ Π | - | - | - Ι Ι Ι Ι C*.

The following coins of Lesbos represent Athena:—

- Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 158, no. 27; p. 159, no. 36-7; p. 163, no. 71; p. 164, no. 76; p. 166, no. 105; p. 167, no. 106-9; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 34, no. 20; Suppl. VI, p. 51, no. 12; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 313, no. 5.
 Mytilene: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 44, no. 89; Suppl. VI, p. 73, no. 132.
 Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 171, no. 1(?); p. 177, no. 1-6; p. 178, no. 9-12; p. 179, no. 13-5, 17-26; p. 180, no. 28-34; p. 181, no. 36-7; p. 182, no. 39-40; p. 183, no. 43; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 38, no. 42-51; p. 40, no. 58; p. 41, no. 61-2; Suppl. VI, p. 55, no. 27; p. 56, no. 32-3; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 502; Head, H. N. p. 559(?); p. 560; p. 561; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 314, no. 1.
 Eresus: Wroth, Cat. p. 176, no. 8; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 37, no. 36, 40; Suppl. VI, p. 53, no. 20; Head, H. N. p. 560.
 Aegirus: Head, H. N. p. 559.
 Gorgoneion-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 151, no. 6-8; p. 157, no. 14; p. 161, no. 52-4; Head, H. N. p. 558; p. 561; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 312, no. 2.
 Owl-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 158, no. 29. Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 192, no. 99-105 (countermark); Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 62, no. 70.

²⁵ I. G. II, ii, 645, l. 25 (restored); 646, l. 10; 673; 676, l. 22; 716, l. 11.

²⁶ I. G. II, ii, 699.

Aphrodite

Whether we consider Aphrodite as of Phoenician or Thessalian origin, her cult would naturally reach Lesbos at a very early time, either in the passage from Asia to Europe or from Europe to Asia. In fact, in the *Iliad* she is the prominent goddess of the Troad region, the protectress of the Trojans. A. Reinach has identified a site in Asia Minor near Hamaxitus, where he believes there was a primitive temple to a Pelasgian¹ goddess (who was afterwards Aphrodite of the Lesbians) and to a mouse god (who later became Apollo Smintheus of the Aeolians).² Such a close relation of Aphrodite and Apollo

¹ That she was Pelasgian is the view also of K. Tümpel (Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 2748), who has given a very complete account of Aphrodite in Lesbos.

² Rev. Epig. 1914, pp. 43-4.

worship Tümpel believes existed on the island itself at Arisbe and Pyrrha. He argues for his theory by a most ingenious weaving³ of the statements of Homer, scholiasts and lexicographers. The father of Chryseis, priest of Apollo, he traces to a temple of Apollo Smintheus on the bay of Kallone. Chryseis (Il. I) = Apriate (Euphorion, Parthenius, ch. 26; F. H. G. IV, p. 335, 2a) = Chryse-Aphrodite (Cleanthes of Assus,⁴ schol. BD (L) to Il. III, 64). The site of the Aphrodite sanctuary was also then at Pyrrha, on the bay of Kallone.⁵ This Aphrodite *Χρυσέη* or *Χρυσή* is named by Homer, Hesiod, Stasinus (frg. 4, 4, Ki.), Mimnermus (frg. I, 1, Bergk) and Theognis (l. 1293), and was doubtless the most important early manifestation of Aphrodite. The story of Apriate's leap into the water, as told by Euphorion, resembles that story in which the daughter of Smintheus leaps into the sea in Plutarch's account,⁶ and also the story of Sappho's leap from the Leucadian rock through love of Phaon. Gruppe says Aphrodite's beloved, Phaon, was from Boeotia; and Engel believed that tales about him in Lesbos indicate that Aphrodite was worshipped as a sea goddess.⁷

Sappho sometimes addresses Aphrodite or refers to her in a manner which indicates that the goddess herself rather than a mere synonym for love⁸ is meant. In fact it has been suggested that Sappho may have been the head of a kind of religious community, such as existed at Paros, devoted to the cult of Aphrodite.⁹

But the evidence for her worship in Lesbos in historical times is not as great as we should naturally expect. The only cult name preserved is Aphrodite *Πειθώ*, which is contained in an inscription of the third or second century.¹⁰ In earlier times Peitho seems to have been a

³ Philol. XLIX, 1890, pp. 89-120. Aphrodite *Καλλόνη*. Tümpel further identifies her with *λευκοθέα*. Cf. Rh. Mus. XXIII, 1868, pp. 316 f.

⁴ *Κλεάνθης δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ οὕτω τιμᾶσθαι χρυσήν Ἀφροδίτην.*

⁵ He bases this argument chiefly on a passage in Strabo, XIII, 606, and the existence of a Pyrrha in Lesbos, Asia Minor and Thessaly. But the argument is more ingenious than conclusive.

⁶ Plut. Sept. Sapient. Conviv. ch. 20.

⁷ Engel, *Kypros*, II, p. 457. See especially the story of Phaon and Aphrodite in Palaephatus, *περὶ ἀπίστων*, XLVIII, (Myth. Gr. III². p. 69); Aelian, V. H. 12, 18; Serv. Aen. III, 279. See Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XVIII, 1883, pp. 414 f., and for further references and discussion, Tümpel, Pauly-Wissowa, *l. c.*

⁸ Sappho, Frg. 1, Bergk.

⁹ Christ, *Gr. Litteraturgesch.* p. 198; Edward D. Perry, *Gr. Literature*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1912, p. 77.

¹⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 73 = Keil, *Philol. Suppl.* II, p. 579, note.

separate deity, for Sappho calls her daughter of Aphrodite.¹¹ It is interesting that this manifestation of Aphrodite Πειθώ is found elsewhere only at Pharsalus, and probably came from Thessaly to Lesbos.¹² The inscription gives regulations concerning the altar of Aphrodite Πειθώ and Hermes. It provides that any bird be offered as a sacrifice, and any animal, male or female, except the pig. This association of Aphrodite with Hermes had a wide geographical range in both Greece and Asia Minor.¹³

Aphrodite is joined also with Athena in a dedication of Roman times from the region of Mytilene, and perhaps has the added title Ὑπάκοος.¹⁴ This combination of Aphrodite with Athena is not so common as with Hermes, but other instances in Greece do occur.

An inscription of the time of Augustus from Kato-Pyrgi, north of Mytilene, which reads, θέω Ἀφροδείτας ἄγαλμα ἐν τῷ εἵρω. Συνκαθιέρωσαν οἱ τὴν σκυτικὴν τέχνην ἐργαζόμενοι is a dedication to Aphrodite by a tanner's guild.¹⁵ Lolling believes that the dedicators were foreigners. The temple mentioned may be one belonging to the goddess in that region.

The Ionic temple at Messa, which has been excavated and is at present the best known of Lesbian temples, was thought by Lolling¹⁶ to have been dedicated to Aphrodite, though he admitted that the evidence was slender. It is based on a passage from Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. IX, 18, 10, and one from Pliny, H. N. XXXI, 2, 7, which reads, "In Pyrrha flumen, quod Aphrodisium vocatur, steriles facit." Here Aphrodite was akin to Priapus.¹⁷

It is very likely that the Adonis element of the Aphrodite cult in early times found its way to Lesbos from its source in Syria and Phrygia. Sappho composed a poem on Adonis;¹⁸ but not till perhaps two centuries after Sappho did the mainland of Greece receive this

¹¹ Sappho, Frg. 135, Bergk. For representation of Peitho as a separate deity see Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Pl. 59, 1.

¹² Roehl, I. G. A. 327 (fifth century B. C.).

¹³ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* I, 2734-55. See p. 36.

¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 476. Weinreich, *Athen. Mitth.* 1912, p. 6, supposes Ὑπάκοος to apply to Aphrodite also.

¹⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 109=Lolling, *Athen. Mitth.* XI, 1886, p. 281, no. 43. I. G. XII, ii, 70, also mentions Aphrodite, but is too fragmentary to make clear the context. Cf. Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, p. 60.

¹⁶ Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 59.

¹⁷ Engel, *Kypros*, II, p. 457.

¹⁸ Sappho, Frg. 62-3, Bergk.

worship strange and orgiastic.¹⁹ The Adonis element would make easier the relationship of Aphrodite to Hermes, who was worshipped as a god of vegetation and fertility in the island.²⁰

In the time of Augustus his daughter Julia was honored by the title Aphrodite Γενέτειρα at Eresus, and by νέα Ἀφροδίτα at Plakados, near Mytilene,²¹ but such names were probably given her because of the supposed descent of Augustus from Venus Genetrix, rather than from local cult influence in Lesbos. Drusilla was also called at Mytilene νέα Ἀφροδίτη.²²

At Naukratis²³ some vases almost complete and several fragments dedicated to Aphrodite have been found. In two or three cases the dedicator actually signs himself as a citizen of Mytilene.

The names derived from Aphrodite in Lesbos are very few. Sittig²⁴ found only one from the stem Ἀφροδ- and five from the stem Ἐπαφροδ- among the 230 names derived from gods, which he examined.

It is very difficult to determine representations of Aphrodite on the coins, and none have yet been identified with certainty. Those which possibly represent Aphrodite are:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 162, no. 62-4; Head, H. N. p. 559 (Sappho or Aphrodite).

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 185, no. 8-16; p. 188, no. 37-95; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 4.

Pyrreha: Wroth, Cat. p. 216, no. 1-3 (Head, H. N. p. 563, considers it the Nymph Pyrrha); Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 320, no. 1.

¹⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 647.

²⁰ See p. 37.

²¹ See p. 88.

²² See p. 89.

²³ E. A. Gardner, Naukratis, II, p. 47, Pl. XXI, no. 786-93; J. H. S. X, 1889, pp. 127 f.; Hugo Prinz, Funde aus Naukratis, p. 57.

²⁴ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 166.

Hermes

From Mount Cyllene in Arcadia the worship of Hermes originally spread; and "his cult does not appear to have taken deep root anywhere except in Arcadia and, as numismatic evidence leads us to suspect, at Ainos in Thrace and Eresos in Lesbos," says Farnell.¹ His figure is not prominent among the coin types of Greece save at Eresus. But so incomplete is the supply of inscriptional material

¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 1.

yet obtained, that apart from the coins² we have practically no other evidence for Hermes at that city.³

Although at Mytilene Hermes seldom appears on the coins, the caduceus was very frequent as a symbol. And here inscriptions make it clear that Hermes was by no means a neglected deity. One from the third or second century⁴ contains a dedication by twelve men of a statue and exedrae to Hermes Ἐναγώνιος. What the statue represented is not known. But an inscription very closely resembling the Lesbian one and commemorating the dedication of a statue and exedra to Hermes and Heracles, was found at Melos⁵ in the neighborhood of the place where the Aphrodite of Melos was discovered. Furtwängler⁶ thought that the famous statue of Aphrodite was dedicated by the Melian inscription. The connection of Aphrodite with Hermes is frequent and was recognized in Mytilene, as is shown by an inscription of about this same time, which gives regulations for sacrifices on the altar of Aphrodite Peitho and Hermes.⁷ Farnell⁸ suggests that Hermes might be here a god of luck, and that the association in this instance could be explained "by the light and superficial reason that the lover needs luck and address to win his mistress." But this combination must have a deeper reason underlying it, and may, as Farnell more seriously adds, "represent the concept of a union between the male and female powers of life and generation."⁹ In this sense Hermes may have been used as an equivalent to Phales. And in this connection we may note that in later times it was apparently the custom to pour a libation to Hermes at the marriage banquet in Mytilene.¹⁰

² The coins represent the head of Hermes wearing the petasos. See esp. Wroth, *Cat.* p. 176.

³ Archestratus (*Athen.* III, p. 111 f.) says of Eresus, "If the gods eat barley, Hermes goes and buys there for them." The peculiar turn of expression may have been chosen because of the association of Hermes with Eresus.

⁴ *I. G.* XII, ii, 96 = *Athen. Mitth.* XI, 1886, p. 228, no. 56.

⁵ *I. G.* XII, iii, 1091.

⁶ Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 376-7; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* VIII, 753.

⁷ τῶ Ἐρμῆ of the inscription should be interpreted in the genitive case, Keil, *Philol. Supplementbd.* p. 579.

⁸ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 12. Cf. *Plut. Conj. Praec.* 138 D.

⁹ Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 387; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* VIII, 760. In fact Hermes was associated more often with Aphrodite than with any other deity perhaps, except Heracles and Apollo. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1331; Farnell, *l. c.*

¹⁰ Longus, *Past.* IV, 34. Cupbearer of the gods, Alcaeus, *Fr.* 8; Sappho, *Fr.* 51.

A relief showing Hermes as companion of the Mother of the gods was found by Conze¹¹ in Lesbos, and would seem to emphasize the same characteristics of Hermes; for his representations as cup bearer of the Great Goddess are in a measure analogous to the idol image with the *Phallos*.¹²

Hermes had very likely a part here in the Cabiric mysteries, as in so many other islands of the North Aegean.¹³ A passage in Lycophron,¹⁴

ὥς μή σε Κάδμος ὤφελ' ἐν περιρρύτῳ
"Ισση φυτεῦσαι δυσμενῶν ποδηγέτην,

has a scholium explaining that Prylis is the one meant, and that he was son of Cadmus (here written for Cadmilus) and of a certain nymph Issa, for whom the island was called Issa.¹⁵ Apparently then this Hermes-Cadmilus was recognized very early among the Lesbians. The influence may well have come from Boeotia with the Aeolic settlers.¹⁶

The proper essential meaning of Hermes is the latent power of the wind which bringing rain fructifies, and so likewise he is the god of fructification in vegetation, as we find in an interesting inscription discovered at Plagia,¹⁷ in the southern part of the island, and dating perhaps second century after Christ:

Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαίας ἐρικύδεος ἀγλαὸν Ἑρμῇ
εὐκάρπου στήσεν τῆσδε ἐπὶ φυταλῆς
Βάκχων Ζωοῦς υἱός, ὅπως ἀσινῇ διὰ παντὸς
ἄμπελος ὠραῖον καρπὸν ἔχη βοτρύων.
'Αλλ' ἵλαος, ἄναξ Ζωοῦς γένος εὐφροني θυμῷ
σῶζε διδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἄφθονον ὄλβον αἰεί.

It is such an inscription as we should expect to be erected to Priapus,¹⁸ who was also much honored in Lesbos. There is, too, the idea of good luck and gain, which are so often closely associated with the name of Hermes.

¹¹ Conze, *op. cit.* p. 10.

¹² Conze, *Arch. Zeitung*, XXXVIII, 1880, p. 9.

¹³ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 16.

¹⁴ Lycophron, ll. 219-20.

¹⁵ Plut. *Prov.* XLII. Prylis seems to be son of Hermes, and a prophet.

¹⁶ Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, 866.

¹⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 476 = Kaibel, *Epigr.* no. 812.

¹⁸ Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 2361 f. (esp. 2376 f.).

At Mytilene existed in Roman times a union called the "Hermais-tai."¹⁹ This name seems to be a translation of the better known Latin term "Mercuriales." Such Roman corporations with Mercury as patron and with the temple of Mercury as place of meeting were established also elsewhere in the Greek world.²⁰ A representation of Hermes as patron of commerce in Mytilene is shown on a coin which portrays him on the prow of a vessel, holding in the right hand a caduceus and in the left a cornucopia.²¹

Sittig²² reports 15 names, a number greater than for any other except Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysus.

For the cult of Hermes no evidence from any region in Lesbos but Mytilene²³ and Eresus is yet known. The coins of these two cities alone represent him, though a coin of Antissa bears the caduceus as a type.

The coins representing Hermes in Lesbos are as follows:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 163, no. 68-71; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 313, no. 5.

Mytilene: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 46, no. 103; p. 53, no. 147.

Eresus: Wroth, Cat. p. 176, no. 1-6; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 37, no. 37; Head, H. N. p. 560.

Caduceus-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 186, no. 20; p. 187, no. 35; p. 188, no. 44; p. 189, no. 59; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 43, no. 73, 77; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 2. Antissa: Wroth, Cat. p. 175, no. 2.

Pileus (?)—Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 189, no. 51-3.

¹⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 22.

²⁰ Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Antiquités, V, p. 135. Such unions are traceable also in Cos and Rhodes, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VIII, 713.

²¹ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 46, no. 103.

²² Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

²³ I. G. XII, ii, 97=Athen. Mitth. XIV, 1889, p. 254, no. 26, gives another dedication from Mytilene.

Poseidon

The fact that Lesbos was an island and that the Lesbians from very early times owned large fleets and were great travellers on the sea leads us to expect Poseidon to be one of the most important deities. Also the settlements from Thessaly and Boeotia¹ would tend to add to the importance of the god, since one of the chief

¹ Roscher's Lexikon, III, 2834 f.; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. pp. 1137 f. Against this view Nilsson, Gr. Feste, p. 64, has argued, saying that the festivals of Poseidon are few in that region; and E. Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 69, that the proper names from the Poseidon cult are also few.

branches of Poseidon cult was the Minyan-Aeolic. And indeed in the early settlements of Lesbos, Poseidon seems to have had much influence. According to Stephanus,² Callimachus says that Lesbos was called *Mytonis*, and Parthenius that the Lesbian women were called *Mytonides* and the men *Mytones* and *Mytonaioi* and *Mytilenaioi* from Myton, son of Poseidon. We have here obviously an attempt to obtain a derivation for the name Mytilene; and still it does seem very likely that an early deity called Μύρων was recognized, and associated with Poseidon. Though there is no other mention of a divinity of the name, Usener³ sees a connection with the Roman god of fertility, Mutunus Tutunus. It is significant that Myton as a proper name occurs in Euboea only,⁴ and Gruppe believes that Myton was associated with the old Boeotian civilization.⁵

Again, in Stephanus⁶ we read that Geren was a city or village of Lesbos, named from Geren, son of Poseidon. The town seems to have been the modern Gerani near Arisba.⁷ This name can likewise be traced to Boeotia, where we have the name Γερήμιχος; and Geres from Boeotia is said to have given his name to the harbor *Gerrhaidai*⁸ at Teos.

There are indications that human sacrifice was not unknown in this early Poseidon worship. The fullest account is given by Plutarch, Sept. Sapient. Conviv. ch. 20. An oracle directed that when those who were to settle Lesbos should in their course meet with a reef called *Mesogeion*,⁹ they should throw to Poseidon a bull and to Amphitrite and the Nereids a living maiden. The lot fell to the daughter of Smintheus, one of the eight leaders. But a certain Enalus, of noble birth, loved her and leaped into the sea to save her.

² Steph. Byz. s. v. Μυτιλήνη.

³ Usener, Gr. Götternamen, p. 327. Qui est apud Graccos Priapus, Aug. Civ. Dei, IV, I.

⁴ Usener, *l. c.* note 9, though Mytion occurs five times in inscriptions from Rhodes.

⁵ Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 853, n. 6.

⁶ Steph. Byz. s. v. Γέρην.

⁷ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VII, 1246.

⁸ Strabo, XIV, 644; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 293, n. 2. The name is found also in Elis. Cf. title of Nestor. Geres from Boeotia, the eponymous founder of the harbor, Strabo, XIV, 633; Paus. VII, 3, 6.

⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 26, obviously means Lesbos, not Chios, when he says the sacrifice was performed by the early immigrants who were sailing to Chios, as his references on p. 95, n. 111 indicate.

Later he appeared on land and said that he and the maiden had both been carried to shore unharmed. Shortly afterwards, when a great wave arose around the island and the men feared to meet it, Enalus alone came with many polypi to the temple of Poseidon, the greatest polypus bringing a stone, which Enalus dedicated. The myth is usually connected with the settlers of Methymna.¹⁰ Perhaps some crude stone statue existed later in the Poseidon cult, and the story is aetiological. Gruppe thinks that at Methymna Poseidon was originally worshipped by throwing into the sea a steer and Amphitrite by the sacrifice of a maiden.¹¹ Plutarch when quoting from Myrsilus, the Lesbian,¹² gives a slightly different version. Enalus is called the Aeolian, Smintheus is called Phineus, and the settlers are the Penthelids. The maiden is thrown into the sea because of an oracle of Amphitrite. Still another version published by Athenaeus,¹³ connects the story definitely with the founding of Methymna. It tells that when the city had been founded, Enalus appeared and said that the maiden was with the Nereids, and that he himself superintended the mares of Poseidon.

Eresus, situated on a coast fairly regular and affording slight protection for ships,¹⁴ had also an early cult of Poseidon, which has not yet been found to exist anywhere else in the Greek world. The record is with Stephanus,¹⁵ who says, quoting Callimachus, that Μεσσοπόντιος is Poseidon of Eresus, for thus he is honored in Eresus, a city of Lesbos. The natural interpretation would be that Poseidon was here given the name because his temple stood on a promontory projecting far into the sea. Better and more suited to the topography of Eresus would be the explanation that the temple site was one of the small islands just off the coast. This was the view which Koldewey at first entertained, but he gave it up when he saw the surf sweep over the island. He states that the elevation was only seven meters above the sea. However, the present state of the island does not conclusively settle the question of suitability for the location of the ancient temple, as there have been no doubt topographical changes in

¹⁰ The name Smintheus was connected with the worship of Apollo at Methymna. See pp. 1-2.

¹¹ F. Dümmler, *Philol.* LVI, 1897, p. 22; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 298.

¹² *Plut. De Sol. Animal.* ch. 36.

¹³ *Athen.* XI, 466 c, quoting Anticlides the Athenian.

¹⁴ Koldewey, *op. cit.* pp. 22 f. and Pl. 8 and 9.

¹⁵ *Steph. Byz.* s. v. Μεσσοπόντιος.

the intervening centuries. But Koldewey could find no trace of the remains of a temple. The only place where there were indications of such a building at Eresus was towards the northwest of the old site of the town.¹⁶ Yet when Athenaeus¹⁷ speaks of "the sea-girt hill of famous Eresus," he shows that Μεσσπόντιος could be an appropriate name for Poseidon worship there.

Another cult which may date from very early times is that of Poseidon Ἐλύμνιος or Ἐλύτιος. Hesychius¹⁸ gives both epithets as Lesbian, but because of the similarity it is generally supposed that one name is a corruption of the other. Jessen¹⁹ suggests that Ἐλύτιος may be a corruption of Ἐλύμνιος or Κλύτιος. And in fact Ἐλύμνιος seems more likely to be the correct epithet, closely resembling Elymnion, a name associated with Euboea and Boeotia;²⁰ so that Bechtel²¹ and others think the cult was brought over the sea with the settlers. Various derivations have been suggested. For instance, it may come from ἐλύνω and designate the god who rolls up the waves. Meinelke says Ἐλύμνιος = Ἐρύμνιος = Ἀσφάλειος, a common title for Poseidon. The derivation from ἔλυμα, which thus makes the god a deity of farming and plowing,²² is especially interesting if we accept Usener's interpretation of Myton, son of Poseidon.

There is no evidence of a Poseidon cult definitely established in Mytilene before the fourth or third century B. C. Of that date we have a very fragmentary metrical composition,²³ which according to Paton's restoration dedicates a fountain to Poseidon. Another inscription from Mytilene²⁴ gives the dedication of a woman Zosime, saved by the providence of the heavenly god, to Zeus, Pluto and Poseidon Πανασφάλιος. No other occurrence of this epithet is known, though it is obviously only a more emphatic form of the very common

¹⁶ Koldewey, *op. cit.* pp. 24-5.

¹⁷ Athen. (Archestratus) III, 111 f.

¹⁸ Hesych. s. v. Ἐλύμνιος and Ἐλύτιος.

¹⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. V, 2476.

²⁰ Schol. to Ar. Peace, 1126. Callistratus says Elymnion is a place of Euboea, and Apollonius that it is a temple near Euboea. W. Schulze, Götting. Gel. Anz. 1897, p. 873, n. 2, derives Ἐλύμνιος from Boeotian Εἰλυμνιεύς.

²¹ Bechtel, Aeolica, p. 22, says Apollo Ἐλύμνιος, evidently meaning Poseidon Ἐλύμνιος.

²² Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. V, 2468. Welcker, Gr. Götterlehre, II, p. 684, suggests derivation from ἔλυμος.

²³ I. G. XII, ii, 95 = Kaibel, Epigr. Gr. no. 780. Kaibel reads Poseidippus and makes no mention of Poseidon.

²⁴ See p. 23.

epithet Ἀσφάλιος.²⁵ A third inscription from Mytilene,²⁶ dating later than the time of Aurelian, seems to mention a festival of Poseidon and to give a list of contributors; but nothing definite can be determined because of the fragmentary condition of the stone. We are also told by the romance of Apollonius of Tyre²⁷ that Neptunalia were held in Mytilene. Although this evidence is late, it is very likely that the city, which had great interest in the sea from early times, held for many centuries such festivals in honor of Poseidon as were celebrated in Tenos.²⁸

The name of a month Ποσίδεος is furnished by an inscription²⁹ which many scholars accept as Lesbian.

From Hieria, which is near Mytilene, an inscription of the time of Tiberius tells that Bresus held among other offices that of Πνιστίας Ἐτηφίλας Ποσειδωνος Μυχίω καὶ Μυχίας καὶ τῶν Ἀπαραιτήτων Θεῶν καὶ τῆς εἶρας καλίας . . . πάρεδ(ρ)ος.³⁰ Μύχιος is very difficult to interpret, as it may designate a special character of Poseidon or the name of a distinct deity. If we take the first view, Farnell³¹ believes that the epithet arose through association, rather than identification with the Chthonic gods, and that Poseidon was worshipped in a cave here as elsewhere. Höfer³² reads τῆς [Κό]ρας (?) Καλίας, and thinks that the naming of so many chthonic deities indicates that Poseidon is connected with that worship. Gruppe³³ finds parallels in Boeotian cult where Poseidon could not have been far removed from Hades. Still another interpretation, and one which is very likely, makes Μύχιος and Μυχία the god and goddess of the lower world.

Joined with the cult of Poseidon in Lesbos we find that of Amphitrite, if we can accept the story of the settlement of Methymna as given by Plutarch.³⁴ Since her worship seems to have existed also

²⁵ Papageorgiu, Uned. Inschr. v. Myt. p. 5; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1726.

²⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 71.

²⁷ De Apol. Tyrio, ch. 33.

²⁸ C. I. G. 2330-3. For months in his honor, especially in the islands, cf. Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. p. 567, n. 6.

²⁹ C. I. G. IV, 6850. See p. 10.

³⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 484. Such is Paton's reading.

³¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 51.

³² Roscher's Lexikon, II, 3298. See Bezzenberger's Beiträge, V, 134.

³³ Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 1139, n. I. Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 21, believes Poseidon was never regarded as a chthonian god.

³⁴ Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 597; Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 414, and others believe that the worship of Amphitrite is indicated.

in the islands of Tenos and Naxos, Gruppe traces its origin to East Boeotia and Euboea.³⁵ The outline of the story must have some foundation in fact. Wernicke³⁶ refuses to believe, however, that human sacrifices³⁷ were offered to Amphitrite. It is likewise difficult to believe that the version given by Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium*, is correct in attributing oracles to her. There is no reason why she should be connected with prophecy.

As Nereids were much honored in islands and by coasts and outlets of streams,³⁸ we naturally expect to find references to them in Lesbos, as indeed we do find in the Plutarch story. Their cult was not very common in Greece. Wide quotes Pausanias³⁹ as saying that the Nereids were sometimes associated with Achilles in cult, and it is unlikely that there may have been some association in Lesbos, since both had considerable honor there. Because of a fragment attributed to Myrsilus, the Lesbian,⁴⁰ it is supposed that the Nereids were called *Λευκοθέαι* in Lesbos. Near Plumari, on the south shore, an inscription⁴¹ of late times tells that Epaphroditus dedicated a thank offering to the *Λευκογείτων Θίασος* for his safety and that of Menophilus. It is possible that Epaphroditus attributed his safety to the Nereids. The feeling that such divinities inhabit hills and streams and have influence for good or evil, still lingers among the country people of Lesbos. W. H. D. Rouse says that in his travels he met an old goatherd who told him that one night on the hills he heard the sound of bells rung by the Neraidhes which made him to be deaf ever after.⁴²

Sittig⁴³ gives eight names which are derived from the Poseidon cult—a fairly high percentage when compared with the other states of Greece.

The portrait of Poseidon appears only on the Mytilene coin representing the *Θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι Μυτιληναίων*, and on a Methymna coin

³⁵ Gruppe, *l. c.*

³⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* I, 1965.

³⁷ Plutarch, *Sept. Sapient. Conviv.* ch. 20.

³⁸ Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 557.

³⁹ Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 224; Preller-Robert, *l. c.* note 5.

⁴⁰ *Etym. Mag.* p. 561, 45=F. H. G. IV, pp. 459 f. *Μυρσῖνος* is the reading. Cf. Hesych. s. v. *Λευκοθέαι*.

⁴¹ *I. G.* XII, ii, 481. Perhaps third century A. D.

⁴² Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, p. 46, n. 3.

⁴³ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

of the time of Geta.⁴⁴ But his trident is depicted on two types of coins, one dating from 440-350, and the other from 350-250 B. C.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See pp. 23-4. and Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 56, no. 35.

⁴⁵ Wroth, Cat. p. 168, no. 117; p. 189, no. 54; Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 60, no. 58.

Demeter

The source of the worship of Demeter seems to have been Thesaly,¹ southwest of Mount Ossa, and from that region the cult probably passed to Boeotia. The early settlers of Lesbos brought it with them to their new home; and here the fertility of the soil and the favorable climate of the island called Macaria, furnished ample reason for the continuation of the worship of Demeter. The principal center of her cult was in the western part of the island, around Eresus, for there was the great grain growing district praised by a passage in Athenaeus,² "First the gifts of fair-haired Demeter shall I call to mind, dear Moschus, and do you ponder in your heart. Best, yes, most excellent of all are the well made cakes of fruitful barley grown in Lesbos, on the sea-girt hill of famous Eresus. Whiter than driven snow are they. If the gods eat barley bread, there Hermes goes and buys for them."

A coin of Eresus bears Hermes on the obverse and wheat on the reverse.³ And in fact the coins of that city well illustrate the importance of Demeter there; for with very few exceptions, the coins which have her portrait or symbols were stamped at the Eresus mint. But because very few inscriptions of any kind have yet been found in that part of Lesbos, epigraphical evidence is lacking.⁴

For the region about Mytilene there is only a passage of late literature which names Demeter. It occurs in the pastoral romance of Longus,⁵ who speaks of a sacrifice by the master, made on arrival at his country estate, to all the gods who preside over *ἀγροικία*, to Demeter, Dionysus, Pan and the Nymphs. Though this passage was written perhaps four centuries after Christ, such sacrifices and

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. IV, 2714; Roscher's Lexikon, II, 1288.

² Athen. III, 111 f., quoting Archestratus.

³ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 37, no. 37.

⁴ Kern, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. IV, 2747, thinks the name of the month Ὀμολόϊος, recorded in an inscription of Eresus, may be derived from the Demeter cult, but the evidence in favor of the Zeus cult is stronger.

⁵ Longus, Past. IV, 13.

the relationship of Demeter to these other divinities were in all probability a survival from earlier centuries.⁶

Though Demeter herself is not directly mentioned by inscriptions, yet from the records of divinities associated with Demeter worship we know something of the importance of her influence in the country around Mytilene. There is a dedication of Imperial times to Cora *Σώτειρα*;⁷ and another inscription of about the same date mentions Persephone, but is so fragmentary that its contents cannot be determined.⁸ Also on a coin of the time of Hadrian we find Cora represented with Demeter. The grouping of the mother and daughter occurs very seldom on coins, as Pick⁹ observes. He believes that in the choice of this type of head as well as of the standing figure, Eleusian influence is unmistakably expressed.

The inscription concerning Bresus found at Hieria, reads [Κό]ρας καλίας according to Höfer. It has also been suggested that Μύχιος and Μυχία are names for the god and goddess of the underworld. Pnistia and Etephila of this inscription Paton joins and makes apply to one deity of double name,¹⁰ probably Persephone. The name Etephila is given several times by Lesbian inscriptions¹¹ which do not tell enough for the determination of the exact nature of the goddess. Hesychius,¹² however, says that Ἐταιφίλη is Persephone. Bechtel¹³ gives doubtless the proper derivation of the word, i. e., Ἐτήφιλοι = Ἐτεήφιλοι, "truly friendly." It would then be a euphemistic name such as was Eumenides, and Εὐβουλεύς applied to Hades.

⁶ These customs are often preserved for centuries in the country regions. Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, p. 50, says, "Even a last trace of the Corn-maiden seems to survive, in a curious plaited mat made of ripe ears, hung up in the peasants' houses, which bears a distant resemblance to a begowned human figure. I have seen these as far east as Lesbos, where they are regular, and rarely on the mainland of Greece. The people call them ψάθα, 'mat,' or σιτάρι, 'corn,' and have forgotten what they once meant." Cf. also Cook, *Zeus*, p. 397, n. 4 and pl. XXVIII, where a corn-maiden from Lesbos is illustrated.

⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 112. The cult of Cora Soteira at Sparta was probably mystic, Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 198.

⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 466.

⁹ *Jahrbuch des K. D. Arch. Inst.* XIII, 1898, p. 160. Odessa is the only place where the type obtained a firm hold. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1034.

¹⁰ I. G. XII, ii, Index VII, Res Sacrae.

¹¹ I. G. XII, ii, 239 and 255. Hiller v. Gaertringen, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* VI, 712.

¹² Hesych. s. v. Ἐταιφίλη.

¹³ Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, V, p. 124.

If Etephila is Persephone, then the plural use of the word, *ἱερεα τῶν θεῶν Ἐτηφίλαν*, in the time of Caracalla, must apply to Demeter and her daughter.¹⁴ In this, as well as three other inscriptions, priestesses of the cult are named.¹⁵ Some of these priestesses are known to have been among the most important women of Mytilene.¹⁶

Pnistia occurs not only in I. G. XII, ii, 484, but in two other Lesbian inscriptions;¹⁷ and yet the name is known nowhere else except Lesbos. One of these inscriptions, dating in Imperial times,¹⁸ informs us that there was a priestess of Pnistia. The other, which is of the fourth or third century B. C., is restored [*Καρίσ*]σα Πνιστία.¹⁹ This restoration can be made with a fair amount of certainty because of the inscription in which Aurelia is called *ἱερεα τῶν θεῶν Ἐτηφίλαν καὶ Καρίσσαν καὶ ἐρσόφορος τῶν ἀγιοτάτων μυσταρίων*.²⁰ The *Karissai* are not otherwise known.²¹ Lesbos, therefore, adds three new names to the cult of Demeter—Etephila, Pnistia, and *Karissai*.

An inscription of the early Roman period²² reading, *Δήμητρος καὶ θεῶν καρποφόρων καὶ θεῶν πολυκάρπων καὶ τελεσφόρων*, is a subject of much dispute because the original is lost, and there is no certainty that it was found in Lesbos.²³ Paton and Kern exclude it, Gruppe and Farnell think it may possibly be Lesbian, and Preller and Stoll accept it. The question cannot be settled unless perhaps the bronze be found again. *Καρποφόρος*, however, is an epithet which occurs often in Lesbian inscriptions in honor of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, and also of Archepolis Philippina, the gymnasiarch of the second or third century A. D.

¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 255. Cf. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *l. c.*

¹⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 110, 222, 263 and 264 (?).

¹⁶ In I. G. XII, ii, 222, Dada, wife of Lesbonax, of a most prominent family, is represented. In no. 255, Aurelia Artemisia is named as *λόγιος πρύτανις καὶ ἐνέργετις*.

¹⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 93, 136. Cf. Roscher's *Lexikon*, III, 2586.

¹⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 136.

¹⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 93.

²⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 255.

²¹ Höfer, Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, 959.

²² C. I. G. II, 2175.

²³ Pococke, *Descr. Orient.* III, p. 15, published it among Chian and Mytilenaeae monuments. We do not know, therefore, to which of the islands it belongs. Paton omits from Lesbian Corpus. Kern, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* IV, 2747. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1179, n. 1. Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 318. Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* p. 766. Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, 1303.

In a very late inscription cited above,²⁴ mention was made of the ἐρσόφορος τῶν ἀγιωτάτων μυσταρίων, an indication that mysteries formed a part in the service for these chthonic deities. The mysteries no doubt existed also in earlier times; but though two other inscriptions definitely mention the word, they are too fragmentary to reveal what the connection may be. One of these seems to tell that Tiberius supplied new mysteries.²⁵ Hiller von Gaertringen suggested χθονίοις before θέαισι,²⁶ but the restoration is rather doubtful. The other inscription²⁷ has the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, but is so mutilated that we cannot tell whether the mysteries are those of the chthonic deities, or of Artemis or the Emperor, who are mentioned in the fragments.

For towns other than Mytilene and Eresus we have no information about the Demeter cult. But we may suppose that Methymna had a cult of the goddess, for a scholium to Hesiod's Theogony²⁸ says, "Some say Persephone was carried off from Sicily, but Bacchylides says from Crete, and Orpheus from the regions about Oceanus, and Phano-demus from Attica, and Demades ἐν νάπαις." The last phrase has been thought to perhaps signify Nape, which was situated in the plain near Methymna. The identification is very uncertain, but the tradition which Demades reports may have arisen because of the extensive Demeter worship in that part of Lesbos.

Sittig gives nine names derived from the cult of Demeter.²⁹

Of the coin representations, those worthy of special mention are the small Lesbian *hektai* of the fourth century, which have preserved an interesting type of the veiled Demeter. Farnell³⁰ thinks "the ample brow, large surface of cheek, and strong chin are inherited from the older style, but the deep-cut eye-sockets and a certain maturity in the contours impart a special character to the face; there is a shadow upon it and yet a certain brightness proper to the corn-mother in the upturned gaze." Demeter (or Cora) with Athena

²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 255.

²⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 205 = Collitz, Dial. Inschr. no. 222. Found near Mytilene, on the way leading to Thermae. Cf. Hiller v. Gaertringen, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VI, 712, and Nilsson, Gr. Feste, p. 353.

²⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. IV, 2747.

²⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 26.

²⁸ l. 914.

²⁹ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

³⁰ Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 272.

and Dionysus is represented on a coin of Lucius Verus,³¹ but the reason for the grouping is unknown.

The following coins represent Demeter:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 168, no. 118-21; Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 51, no. 12.

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 199, no. 164(?).

Methymna: Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 56, no. 33.

Eresus: Wroth, Cat. p. 176, no. 1, Demeter or Apollo; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 36, no. 29-35; Suppl. VI, p. 52, no. 13, 14-5; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 501; Head, H. N. p. 560, Demeter or Apollo.

Koinon: Wroth, Cat. p. 169, no. 2(?).

Persephone-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 162, no. 65-6. Eresus: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 37, no. 38.

Ear of Corn-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 188, no. 47, 48(?); p. 189, no. 49-50; p. 190, no. 66-7(?); Eresus: Wroth, Cat. p. 176, no. 2-7; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 37, no. 37.

³¹ See p. 65.

Hephaestus

The proximity of Lesbos to Lemnos makes us reasonably sure that the cult of Hephaestus was established among the Lesbians at an early time. But the evidence is rather uncertain. Some scholars believe that a month *Hephaistios* was known in Lesbos, but the inscription which names it is not proved to be Lesbian.¹ Wilamowitz concludes from a passage in Pliny that there was a city *Hephaistia* in Lesbos;² but the text of Pliny reads Lemnos, and Lemnos rather than Lesbos suits the context. Alcaeus composed an ode to Hephaestus, from which we should infer a local interest in the god.³ Likewise this deity is represented on a coin of Methymna;⁴ and at Eresus there is inscriptional record of a woman's name *Haphaistis*.⁵ Although there is no strong point in the evidence if considered singly, yet taken all together, and with a consideration of the geographical situation, it is sufficient to indicate that the Hephaestus cult was well known in Lesbos.

¹ C. I. G. IV, 6850. See p. 10.

² Pliny, H. N. IV, 73. Wilamowitz, Götting. Gel. Nachr. 1895, p. 232.

³ Alcaeus, Frg. 11, Bergk. Sappho, Frg. 66, Bergk, mentions him.

⁴ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 39, no. 54.

⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 535.

Ares

A coin from Lesbos¹ dating 440-350 B. C., has on its obverse a beardless male head, wearing a crested helmet ornamented with a griffin. Wroth suggested that the head was of Ares.

¹ Wroth, Cat. p. 165, no. 95-7.

Hestia

No real evidence for a cult of Hestia in Lesbos has yet been discovered. The claim which has been formerly made¹ that a cult of Hestia Πρυτανεία existed at Mytilene rests on the uncertain testimony of a restored inscription.² It is true that the restoration was based on similarity to an inscription from Syros³ which contained the name Hestia Prytaneia. But a later reading of the stone by Paton reveals letters which exclude the possibility that the restoration should be correct.⁴ Likewise incorrect is the supposition that another Lesbian inscription mentions a priestess of Hestia in Mytilene;⁵ for the words ταῖς ἱεράαις τῆς Ἑστίας refer to the Vestal Virgins in Rome.⁶ No types on coins have yet been identified with Hestia in Lesbos.

¹ Preller-Robert, Gr. Myth. p. 425, n. 2; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 1405, n. I; Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 348.

² I. G. XII, ii, 68, l. 3 = B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 424.

³ I. G. XII, v¹, 659-60; 662-4; 666-7.

⁴ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VIII, 1285; Roscher's Lexikon, I, 2638.

⁵ Preller-Robert, *l. c.*

⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 58 b, l. 23.

CHAPTER II

OTHER DEITIES

Adrasteia

This Trojan-Phrygian goddess¹ is supposed to have been a form of Cybele, confused by false etymology with Nemesis and very closely related to her.² She was given the name because of Adrastus, the Phrygian king, who founded a shrine for her. Her worship was introduced into Lesbos from Asia Minor, but at what time it is impossible to tell. At any rate an inscription of the first century A. D. speaks of a *πάρεδρος* of Adrasteia, and attests that her worship was established in the island by that date. On the reverse of a coin of Antoninus Pius³ there is a figure which Wroth designates as Nemesis, and describes as a woman "in a chiton and peplos, standing left, her right arm bent at the elbow, and plucking the chiton at her neck; at her feet a wheel." It may be that a representation of Adrasteia was here intended. On another coin figures identified also as Nemesis stand on each side of a group including Cybele, Asclepius and Artemis of Ephesus.

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 408 f.; Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 220; Robinson, A. J. A. 1912, p. 29.

² Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. from Cos*, no. 29.

³ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 206, no. 201. Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 47, no. 114. No. 115 is also identified as Nemesis.

Asclepius

The original home of Asclepius was Thessaly¹ and in Homer he is named as a Thessalian physician.² But he was soon after deified, and from that country his cult came to Asia Minor and the neighboring islands. Because of the very close relation of Lesbos and Thessaly we should expect Asclepius to hold an important place in the religious life of the Lesbians. Indeed it is assumed that Lesbos had one of the oldest cults in the East, and connecting links between that island and Cos are not lacking.³ Actual evidence for the earlier

¹ Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 623; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1645.

² II, 731; IV, 194; XI, 518.

³ Wilamowitz, *Philol. Untersuch.* IX, 1886, pp. 52 f.; Thraemer, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1660 f.

centuries among the Lesbians, however, is entirely missing; and so we are forced to depend on the arguments of colonization and the importance of the cult in times later than the fourth century. For the period after 300 B. C. there is ample testimony from both inscriptions and coins. But the information obtained up to the present time is concerned only with Mytilene and the country in its vicinity.

We know that in the third century B.C. Mytilene had an important temple of Asclepius, for in the well-known inscription containing pledges of Eumenes to his soldiers⁴ (and dating between 263 and 241), directions were given that copies of the document be placed in the temple of Athena at Pergamum, in Gryneum, in Delos, and in the temple of Asclepius in Mytilene. We know that the temples in Pergamum, Gryneum⁵ and Delos were famous even beyond the limits of their respective territory. We infer that the temple of Asclepius in Mytilene was likewise well-known. This evidence is reinforced by another inscription found at Pergamum and dating from the second century B. C.⁶ It is a decree of the people of Pergamum concerning the possession of the priesthood of Asclepius, and makes provision for the erection of a copy in the temple of Asclepius at Pergamum, in the temple of Athena on the Acropolis, and in the temple of Asclepius at Mytilene. From Mytilene also comes evidence that this temple⁷ was an important repository for international decrees. By an inscription⁸ found there we learn that the Aetolians in the third century B. C. expressed friendship for the people of Mytilene. The latter replied with a decree of praise, and directed that this decree and that of the Aetolians be placed in the temple of Asclepius.

Efforts have been made to locate this important temple. A large architrave block reading,

. . . γένης ἵρευσ τῷ Σώτηρος Ἀσκληπίῳ διὰ γένους
. . . οἷα Ἀσκληπίῳ σῶτηρι περὶ ὑγείας

dates from the second or first century B. C.⁹ One end is now broken away, but the stone was once very large and belonged to a fine

⁴ Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, I, no. 13, l. 18 = Dittenberger, *O. G. I.* no. 266. Fränkel thinks it dates soon after 263.

⁵ Fränkel, *l. c.* (note, p. 16) for the celebrated Apollo temple at Gryneum.

⁶ Fränkel, *op. cit.* II, no. 251, l. 40.

⁷ A. J. A. VI, 1890, p. 355.

⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 15, l. 34, and Paton's note.

⁹ I. G. XVI, ii, 116 = B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 426, no. 5.

building of Asclepius. The stone was found in the Turkish fortress on the Acropolis, which was the oldest part of Mytilene. E. Fabricius and C. Cichorius discovered in about the same place a number of other inscriptions which contained public documents.¹⁰ Accordingly Cichorius¹¹ decided that the temple of Asclepius was probably situated on the hill of the present fortress, on the highest part of the Acropolis. One of his arguments is that the architrave block is too large to have been moved very far. Koldewey,¹² when he examined the topography of Mytilene, said that by this we cannot prove the location of the temple, for at the building of the fortress, material for it was collected from the whole district. An inscription of about the third century B. C.¹³ gives praise to Athanadas for bringing water to the Asclepieum and to the city, if we accept a very probable restoration by Paton. This inscription indicates with more probability a site, not on the Acropolis, which in ancient times was a small island,¹⁴ but on the mainland, and on lower ground. Sanctuaries of Asclepius were usually placed where a supply of running water was available, and not on the top of a hill. Also the inscription giving praise to the Aetolians was found in the foundations of the old church of St. Symeon, between the two harbors, in the region where Koldewey thinks the ancient agora was located.¹⁵ The common view now is that the temple of Asclepius stood nearby, in the place where is the new church of St. Therapon.¹⁶

The cult of the temple from which the architrave block came was that of Asclepius Σωτήρ,¹⁷ for this epithet is twice used upon the stone. And the name is likewise recorded by two other inscriptions from Mytilene;¹⁸ also by one from the neighboring town of Hiera.¹⁹ One

¹⁰ A. J. A. *l. c.* Fabricius thinks the compact between Rome and Mytilene must have been placed in this temple, Athen. Mitth. IX, 1884, p. 86.

¹¹ Athen. Mitth. XIII, 1888, p. 56, no. 6, note. The stone measures I. 39 m in length and .41 m in width.

¹² Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 10.

¹³ I. G. XII, ii, 4.

¹⁴ Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 3.

¹⁵ Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 10.

¹⁶ Papageorgiu, *Inscr. v. Myt.* p. 23.

¹⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 116.

¹⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 61 and 102.

¹⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 484. This inscription, as well as the two named in the preceding note, record names of men who served in the worship of Asclepius. The title Soter is obviously a very common one for Asclepius.

of these inscriptions from Mytilene reads,²⁰ *πανίρεως καὶ ἱρεως διὰ γένεος τῷ Σώτηρος Ἀσκληπίῳ καὶ ἱρεως διὰ βίῳ Λεσβίοις*; and the expression *διὰ γένεος* occurs also in I. G. XII, ii, 61 and 116. There was in Mytilene an inherited priesthood. Thraemer thinks that these priests belonged not to the family of Asclepiads derived from Podalirius, for he was a stranger in Aeolis, and that the descent must accordingly be traced from Machaon. He connects the cult here with the branches at Andros, Thera, and Gortyna.²¹ But Podalirius was apparently recognized in Lesbos in the third century B. C., at any rate. For in Pyrrha *Ποδαλειρίῳ* is inscribed on a stone²² which Paton believes to be an altar.

Besides the office of inherited priest at Mytilene, we know of one other office in the service of Asclepius—the *Zakoros* of Asclepius Soter, which is inscribed on a stone found at Hieria,²³ south-east of the city.

An inscription of late Imperial times²⁴ gives a list of men with the word *θρεπτός* attached to their names. Lolling supposes this is a list of freedmen, who as *ιεροί* stood under the protection of the sanctuary at which their manumission had taken place.

Hygeia likewise had part in the cult. A coin of the time of Gallienus shows Asclepius looking towards Hygeia. He holds in the right hand a snake-encircled staff; Hygeia, feeds a serpent from a patera.²⁵

From the reign of Hadrian to that of Gallienus the coins show that in almost all Asia Minor the worship of Telesphorus flourished.²⁶ This god seems to have been introduced into Asclepius cult in Roman times, and to have also received a place in Lesbos. His portrait has been found on coins of the island;²⁷ and an inscription of Kato-Pyrgi from Roman times²⁸ mentions a man named Telesphorus.

²⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 102=Kaibel, Eph. Epig. II, p. 21, XXV.

²¹ Roscher's Lexikon, I, 630; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. II, 1660 f.

²² I. G. XII, ii, 477.

²³ I. G. XII, ii, 484.

²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 85=Athen. Mitth. XI, 1886, p. 270, No. 13. I. G. XII, ii, 116 and 117. *Ἀρχαγέτα* occurs in a very fragmentary inscription, I. G. XII, ii, 61, l. 16, from which it is impossible to determine to whom the name applies. The inscription tells of an emperor and a priest of Asclepius.

²⁵ Wroth, Cat. p. 203, no. 183 and Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 51, no. 133.

²⁶ L. Schenck, De Telesphoro Deo, Göttingen, 1888, p. 47.

²⁷ He also occurs on coins of Pordoselene. Wroth, Cat. p. 219, no. 4 (time of Septimius Severus).

²⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 108=Athen. Mitth. XI, 1886, p. 281.

None of the cities except Mytilene have as yet been found to have stamped coins representing Asclepius. Those of Mytilene bearing his type range in date from perhaps the fourth century B. C. to the time of the emperors Valerian and Gallienus. On the alliance coins of Mytilene and Adramyttium of this last period Asclepius occurs frequently. On still another coin Tyche holds a figure of Asclepius with Dionysus, thus indicating perhaps the importance of the god.

One of the types that is particularly difficult to interpret represents a standing figure which is like to the youthful Asclepius, and bears the legend ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.²⁹ The same legend occurs also on a coin with a youthful male head. Svoronos and others have thought that Pankratides is an epithet of Asclepius.³⁰ Although the name is appropriate as such a title, it seems here to denote a physician of Mytilene, who was given the attributes of the deity as a mark of honor. Another interesting type represents Asclepius with Cybele,³¹ and alliance coins of Valerian and Gallienus show him with the Tyche of Mytilene.³²

The coins give us the only representations of Asclepius, except two reliefs which Conze³³ found at Methymna. The stone containing the more interesting relief is very small (Conze, Pl. X, 3, gives the exact size), and shows both in character and art influences of the later period of antiquity. The right hand rests on a staff which is encircled by a serpent, and holds a flying victory, with a garland and perhaps a palm. Before him is a plant very much like a vine with grapes. Conze points out that an Asclepius Νικηφόρος is new,³⁴ but not a thing remarkable. He suggests that the vine denotes the curative properties of Lesbian wine, and calls attention to the fact that the wine of Methymna was especially medicinal.

Lesbians were also interested in Asclepius cults abroad. A decree of the people of Mytilene³⁵ praises the Thessalians and provides for sending to the sacrifice of Asclepius a garland and a sacrifice.

²⁹ See p. 92.

³⁰ Svoronos, Riv. Ital. di Numis. XXI, 1908, p. 319.

³¹ Mionnet, Descr. p. 45, no. 99-100; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 505.

³² Wroth, Cat. p. 214, no. 233 and 234.

³³ Conze, *op. cit.* p. 22.

³⁴ Νικηφόρος is applied to Zeus, Athena and Aphrodite.

³⁵ Papageorgiu, Uned. Inschr. v. Myt. no. 1, ll. 11 f. Bechtel, Aeolica, p. 7, restores *θεαπλαν* in place of *στέφανον*.

The well-known record of cures found at Epidaurus tells of Heraeus of Mytilene who was cured of baldness in the sanctuary there.³⁶

Aneicetus, son of Aneicetus, twice won the games in honor of Asclepius at Pergamum,³⁷ and Hermias, son of Neocles of Pyrrha,³⁸ made an offering at Epidaurus.

The following coins represent Asclepius:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 167, no. 113-4, Asclepius or Zeus; p. 168, no. 115-7(?); Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 505.

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 199, no. 161-3, Asclepius or Pankratides; p. 201, no. 177; p. 203, no. 183; p. 206, no. 202; p. 214, no. 233-4; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 45, no. 99-101; p. 51, no. 132-3, Asclepius or Pankratides; p. 52, no. 139; p. 59, no. 183; Suppl. VI, p. 66, no. 93, Asclepius or Pankratides; p. 67, no. 98, 100; p. 69, no. 109; p. 77, no. 148; Head, H. N. p. 562; Riv. Ital. di Numis. XXI, p. 319.

Eresus: Head, H. N. p. 560(?).

Telesphorus-Mytilene: Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 44, no. 89; Suppl. VI, p. 69, no. 110.

Hygeia-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 203, no. 183; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 51, no. 133.

³⁶ I. G. IV, 951, l. 122=Dittenberger, Syl. 802=Michel, Recueil, 1069. Of the third century B. C. doubtless.

³⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 388. The inscription was found at Mytilene, and the inference is that Aneicetus lived in that city.

³⁸ I. G. IV, 1506. Pyrrha may be in Thessaly or Caria or Lesbos.

Caïstris

A small votive tablet from Mytilene of the early Empire¹ reads Σεκοῦνδα εὐχὴν Καῖστρίδι ἀνέθηκεν. Caïstris seems to have been one of the minor deities of Lesbos.

Cybele

At Eresus an inscription was found which reads "Ἀφαιστis Θεοδώ-
ρεια γύνα ταις τραπέζαις Μᾶτρι.² This dedication dates from the third or second century B. C. A very interesting inscription of the same city shows resistance offered to her special worship by the provision that no priest of Cybele be allowed to enter the temple and that women be not permitted to perform the Phrygian orgy in the precinct.³

¹ I. G. XII, ii, 120. Index VII lists it among Res Sacrae.

² I. G. XII, ii, 535=Collitz, Dial. Inschr. no. 289.

³ Cl. Rev. XVI, 1902, p. 290. Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 303.

Fick⁴ supposes that her cult was very early and important in the region of Methymna when he suggests that the name of the town was derived from two words—Mâ the great Mother Goddess of Asia Minor, and Θύμνα, a place in Paphlagonia. But the derivation of Methymna is still an unanswered problem.

In an inscription of Methymna dating perhaps third century B. C., there is a dedication to Agdissis;⁵ but no deity or mortal of this name is known. As the inscription occurs on what appears to be a sepulchral stone, it may be the name of a person. Paton includes it in the index of *Nomina Virorum et Mulierum*, as well as among the *Res Sacrae*. Pausanias and others⁶ explain Agdistis as equivalent to Cybele, and perhaps Agdissis here also refers to her.

At Mytilene Conze found a relief of a late period,⁷ executed with great crudeness. The stone is of grey marble. Cybele sits on a throne and rests her left arm on a tympanum, the right on a lion which lies in her lap. The locks of her hair fall over her shoulders to the breast, but the head is broken away. Under her feet is a foot stool. She is attended by Hermes, whose cult seems to have been connected with hers.⁸ Also there is a small Cybele relief of usual type, which Conze had placed in the British Museum.⁹

On the obverse of certain coins of Lesbos a female head wearing earrings and turreted headdress, ornamented with acanthus patterns, is thought to be perhaps the head of Cybele.¹⁰ Other coins show Cybele with Asclepius,¹¹ and Cybele with Asclepius and Artemis of Ephesus.¹²

Sittig reports fourteen names, a surprisingly high percentage, and greater than for Greece or most points of Asia Minor.

Dionysus

Though Apollo and Artemis were probably more important deities in the region of Mytilene during the fifth and fourth centuries

⁴ Fick, *Vorgr. Ortsnamen*, p. 62.

⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 524.

⁶ Paus. VII, 17, 10; Strabo, 469 and 567; Hesych. s. v. She is also named in C. I. G. III, 3886, but the declension does not agree with that on the Lesbian stone.

⁷ Conze, *op. cit.* p. 10.

⁸ See p. 37.

⁹ Conze, *l. c.*

¹⁰ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 163, no. 69(?), 70(?). Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 45, no. 98.

¹¹ Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 45, no. 99-100.

¹² Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 46, no. 101; p. 47, no. 114. Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

than was Dionysus, the latter had an early established worship in the island, and at Methymna in particular, he seems to have been always held in the highest honor. In Roman Imperial times his cult was probably the principal one throughout the whole of Lesbos, as the coins of the Emperors show. And this is to be expected in the island, so abundant in grapes and so celebrated for its wine.¹³ Besides the numismatic evidence, there are a great many inscriptions and passages of literature; practically all of which have been collected by Wilhelm Quandt in a dissertation entitled, *De Baccho ab Alexandri Aetate in Asia Minore Culto*.¹⁴

In very early times there were two important cults in the island, that of Dionysus *Βρισαῖος* at the promontory of Brisa on the southern shore,¹⁵ and that by the grave of Orpheus at Antissa in the north-western part. At Brisa the god was born, and brought up by the *Brisai*; and Gruppe¹⁶ thinks that the story of the frightening of the *Brisai* by the lion was also brought here from Boeotia. According to Androtion, Macar, who was so important in the settlement of Lesbos,¹⁷ founded the temple of Dionysus in Brisa, and according to Aelian,¹⁸ was priest of this god. Macar was by one tradition called the husband of the Sphinx.¹⁹ We must believe that the Lesbian promontory received its name from the cult, and that the name Dionysus *Βρισαῖος* was an older one imported from Greece, if we accept the view of Wilamowitz and Gruppe.²⁰ *Bresadas* in Boeotia,²¹ and other proper names in northern Greece²² are from the same stem, and the nymphs were called *Brisae* in Ceos.²³ But most important is the fact that Dionysus was worshipped in the town of Bryseae on Mt. Taygetus in Laconia.²⁴ Here, as in a

¹³ Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, pp. 6-8, cites the passages relating to the fame of Lesbian wine.

¹⁴ Halle, 1912, pp. 137-46.

¹⁵ Steph. Byz. s. v. *Βρίσα*.

¹⁶ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* pp. 296-7. Cf. *Etym. Mag.* s. v. *Βρισαῖος*, where a choice for two derivations for the name are given—*βρίζειν* or the name of the promontory.

¹⁷ See Introduction p. x.

¹⁸ Aelian, V. H. 13, 2.

¹⁹ F. H. G. III, 336, 5.

²⁰ Called also *Βρησσαῖος*, Hesch. s. v. See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* p. 409, for variations in spelling. Gruppe, *l. c.*

²¹ I. G. VII, 2556.

²² Sittig, *op. cit.* pp. 89-90.

²³ Wilamowitz, *l. c.*

²⁴ Wide, *Ionische Kulte*, p. 162.

few other cases, the myths and cults of Lesbos touch those of Laconia.²⁵ Wide believes that the connection of Dionysus with Helius in the worship on Mt. Taygetus has its parallel in the fact that Macar, the priest of Dionysus in Lesbos, was called a son of Helius. There seems then to be fairly conclusive evidence that the Aeolians took the cult with them from Greece, and Gruppe, with his suggestion of importation from Boeotia, seems nearer the truth than Farnell,²⁶ who thinks that "the trail back to Boeotia is very faint," and believes that the name may be derived from an autochthonous local word of the island. Certainly the name seems well established in Lesbos from an early period, and Wilamowitz has asserted that the maiden Briseis, the captive of Achilles, came from Lesbos.²⁷ This opinion of Wilamowitz has been generally accepted. An inscription shows that the name of a family of Lesbians was derived from this stem;²⁸ and Lesbos has today a promontory called Brision and a village Brisia.²⁹ On the promontory, in the ruined chapel of Hagios Phokas, an inscription was discovered which dates perhaps from the fourth century B. C., and records the dedication of Megaritus, son of Aeschines, to Dionysus Βρησαγένης.³⁰ The cult must then have flourished here for many centuries. Koldewey³¹ found ruins on the promontory, which allow a fairly clear reconstruction of a simple Doric temple *in antis* dating first century B. C.; and he regarded the inscription as a dedicatory tablet of this temple. The Doric building would be appropriate in honor of a god remotely connected with Dionysus in Laconia.

Miss Margaret Hasluck³² believes that the cult influence went out from Lesbos to Smyrna, where there is considerable evidence of a Dionysus Breiseus, but none dating earlier than Hellenistic times. On the coins of Smyrna we find this cult represented by a bearded, elderly manifestation of Dionysus.

²⁵ Diod. Sic. V, 56.

²⁶ Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 299. Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 116, note c.

²⁷ Wilamowitz, *l. c.* Tümpel, Philol. 1890, pp. 89 f. puts forth the theory that Chryseis also came from Lesbos.

²⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 484, from Hieria. Both father and son have the name Bresus.

²⁹ Newton, *op. cit.* II, p. 13.

³⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 478=B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 445, no. 29.

³¹ Koldewey, *op. cit.* pp. 63-4.

³² B. S. A. XIX, 1912-13, pp. 89 f.

Because of the story of Aelian³³ which names Macar as priest of Dionysus and tells of the murder of Macar's wife and sons, it is thought³⁴ that the Lesbian cult in early times demanded human sacrifice. This view is confirmed by a passage from Clement of Alexandria³⁵ which quotes Dosidas as saying that the Lesbians sacrifice human beings to Dionysus. Gruppe also thinks that the Muses were connected with the cult at Brisa.

The other cult of Dionysus, which probably goes back to early times, seems to have had its hold in the North. Lucian³⁶ tells us that the head of Orpheus, when it was found by the Lesbians, was put in the *Baccheion*. Maas³⁷ conjectures that this sanctuary was near Brisa. But as a fragment of the history of Myrsilus states that the grave of Orpheus was near Antissa,³⁸ it is more reasonable to suppose that the *Baccheion* was situated in that locality. Also the resemblance of the story of Dionysus Φαλλήν or Κεφαλήν, which is connected with Methymna, to the Orpheus legend is an argument for placing the grave of Orpheus in the North. And evidently at Antissa there was worship of Dionysus from primitive times, as one of the coins³⁹ shows. It is described as having on the reverse a curious head which has been called Orpheus, but which is certainly a reproduction from an archaic *xoanon* of Dionysus Φαλλήν.⁴⁰ In addition there is the testimony of Aristotle that it was the custom of the people of Antissa to celebrate the Dionysia splendidly, spending great sums for other things, and also for costly sacrifices.⁴¹

In all probability the cult most conspicuous in Methymna was that of Dionysus Φαλλήν or Κεφαλήν,⁴² about which a strange story was told. Pausanias⁴³ says that some fishermen at Methymna dragged up in their nets from the sea a mask made of olive wood.

³³ Aelian, V. H. 13, 2.

³⁴ Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 297.

³⁵ Clemens Alex. Protrep. III, 42; F. H. G. IV, p. 400, 5; Cook, Zeus, I, p. 656.

³⁶ Lucian, Adv. Indoct. 11 f.

³⁷ Maas, Orpheus, p. 131, n. 9.

³⁸ Antig. Hist. Mir. ch. 5 = F. H. G. IV, 459, 8.

³⁹ Head, H. N. p. 560.

⁴⁰ On a coin of Antissa, dating 300-167 B. C., Wroth, Cat. p. 175, no. 8, Dionysus is probably represented. Grapes are a symbol on this coin.

⁴¹ Arist. Oecon. II, 1347 a, 25.

⁴² κεφαλήνα is the MS reading, Φαλλήνα is Lobeck's emendation. Lobeck, Aglaoph. II, p. 1087.

⁴³ Paus. X, 19, 3. Cf. Ernst Maas, Hermes, XXIII, 1888, pp. 74-5.

The features were somewhat divine but foreign and not usual in Greek gods. So the people of Methymna asked the Pythian priestess of which one of the gods or heroes it was a likeness; and she bade them worship Dionysus Φαλλήν or Κεφαλήν. Thereupon the Methymnaeans, keeping the wooden image from the sea, honored it with sacrifices and prayers, and sent a bronze copy to Delphi. In Eusebius⁴⁴ the oracle is given as,

'Αλλά κε Μηθύμνης ναέταις πολὺ λώϊον ἔσται
Φαλληνὸν τιμῶσι Διόνυσοιο κάρηνον.

From this passage it looks as if the reading of Lobeck in the Pausanias passage were very probable, and it has met with general acceptance. Höfer⁴⁵ calls attention to the fact that the corruption to Κεφαλήν could easily have arisen if originally Διονύσου κεφαλήν Φαλλήνος were written and corruption arose because of the similarity of the last two words. Head thinks that the coin evidence is in favor of Φαλλήν.⁴⁶ But Farnell⁴⁷ stands opposed, and declares that this word as a cult epithet of Dionysus is a fiction of Lobeck. He admits that in Eusebius the oracle is quoted Φαλληνόν, but says that Eusebius in his comment, which follows, shows that he regards the adjective as descriptive of the material of the head, and not as an epithet of Dionysus. Farnell connects the story with that of the head of Orpheus which came from the shore of Thrace. He believes in Dionysus Κεφαλήν. But the analogy to the Orpheus legend and the importance evidently given to the image in the celebration of the festival, make it very likely that Κεφαλήνα was a corruption and that the real cult was of Dionysus Φαλλήν.

The people of Methymna must have possessed a very old statue of Dionysus which was regarded with particular veneration.⁴⁸ For a Methymnaean inscription of praise⁴⁹ which reads, (Il. 8f.) στεφάνωσαι Ἀναξίωνα Ἀναξίωνος ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοισι πρὸ τῆς τῷ ἀγάλματος περιφόρας, bears witness that an image was carried about at the festival of the Dionysia. This inscription dates perhaps from the end of the

⁴⁴ Euseb. Praep. Evang. V, 36; Anth. Pal. App. VI, 67. Cf. Theodoret. Graec. Affect. Curatio, X, 962, for same oracle.

⁴⁵ Roscher's Lexikon, III, 2244.

⁴⁶ Gruppe, Roscher's Lexikon, III, 1094. Head, H. N. pp. 561-2. Wroth, Cl. Rev. XI, 1897, pp. 227 f.

⁴⁷ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 127, note a.

⁴⁸ S. Reinach, B. C. H. VII, 1883, pp. 40-1.

⁴⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 503 = Collitz, Dial. Inschr. no. 277. Cf. the procession with the Dionysus figure at Delos and Athens, Nilsson, Gr. Feste, pp. 280-2.

third or the beginning of the second century B. C. One from Eresus, by a very probable restoration, also reads ἀ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων [περιφορά],⁵⁰ and would seem to indicate that the same kind of festival took place in the south-west part of the island.

In these two cities the celebration of the Dionysia was in later times, at any rate, accompanied by dramatic performances; for an inscription concerning arbitration between Methymna and Eresus of about 167 B. C.⁵¹ reads (l. 54) ἐπὶ τοῖς Διονυσίοις τῷ ἄγωνι τῷ σκανίκῳ in the decree of the people of Methymna, and ἐπὶ τε τοῖς Διονυσίοις τῷ ἄγωνι τῶν τραγῳδῶν in the decree of the people of Eresus. Part of the festival at Methymna is apparently described in I. G. XII, ii, 499,⁵² an inscription of Roman times. The lines are very fragmentary, but seem to tell of service in a temple.⁵³ Nilsson⁵⁴ believes the festival was in two parts; the second, the *Pannychis*, being celebrated by women exclusively. But in the first men also took part, as the masculine forms show. Θύρσοι, at the end indicates, he thinks, an orgiastic festival.

At Methymna one of the months was named *Dionysos*,⁵⁵ and at Eresus the month Ἀγεppάνιος⁵⁶ was named no doubt in honor of this god. The Bacchic *Agrionia* was a festival wild in character, and occurred especially in Boeotia.⁵⁷ From there it spread to the islands. *Agrionios* was also a month of the Boeotian calendar.⁵⁸ Here seems to be another trace in Lesbos of northern Greek influence.

Hesychius⁵⁹ gives Μηθυμναῖος as an epithet of Dionysus and Eustathius says Methymna was named for Dionysus, but the common epithet is Μεθυμναῖος, derived from μέθυ and similar to Λναῖος, Εὔιος, etc.,⁶⁰ and has probably nothing to do with the name of the town.

⁵⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 527, l. 28. See also ll. 24 and 33.

⁵¹ Wiegand, Milet, III, no. 152, ll. 54, 76, 82 and 88.

⁵² Published also in B. C. H. IV, 1880, pp. 440 f. = Collitz Dial. Inschr. no. 279.

⁵³ The οἰκονόμος must not be less than 40 years old, he must keep the sanctuary within and forbid all strangers to the cult, and see to the fulfillment of the laws, B. C. H. l. c.

⁵⁴ Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 283. Paton thinks this a woman's festival, I. G. XII, ii, 499, note.

⁵⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 502, l. 12.

⁵⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 527, l. 45.

⁵⁷ Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. I, p. 167.

⁵⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 896. It also occurs as a man's name in Boeotia, Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 94.

⁵⁹ Hesychius, s. v. Eustath. Schol. II. 329, 4.

⁶⁰ Plut. Quaest. Conviv. III, 2, 1; Athen. VIII, 363 b.

From Bresa doubtless a cult of Dionysus was later established in Mytilene. But the earliest evidence of his recognition in the latter place is furnished by coins of the fourth and third centuries B. C., on which representations of the god himself, the thyrsus, or bunches of grapes appear. An archaic simulacrum of Dionysus is a familiar type, and gives indication that the god of Mytilene was in some respects like to the Dionysus of Methymna. Terminal figures of him appear first on silver coins of the second and first centuries and represent the god draped, with the hair falling in two long curls. On the head is a tall headdress, or an ivy garland.⁶¹ Often the figure is placed on the prow of a ship⁶² as a symbol of the wine export. In the time of the Emperors of the second and third centuries he is most prominent of all the deities, his closest rival being Artemis. The favorite type becomes the Tyche of Mytilene, seated on a throne, in her right hand a patera and in her left a term of Dionysus.⁶³ Wroth is correct in saying that the Tyche of Mytilene holds this term apparently because Dionysus was then the chief deity of the city.

Longus,⁶⁴ about four centuries after Christ, in describing the region near Mytilene says, "In the very middle of the park was an altar dedicated to Dionysus. Ivy encircled the altar, and vine branches the temple. Within, the temple had pictures relating to Dionysus—the delivery of Semele, Ariadne sleeping, Lycurgus in fetters, Pentheus torn in pieces, the victories over the people of India and the metamorphosis of the Tyrrhenian sailors. Everywhere were Satyrs treading, everywhere Bacchantes; nor was Pan omitted. He was represented as sitting on a rock and playing his pipe, like to him who supplies the tune for the men as they tread and the women as they dance." In the rural districts of Lesbos, Dionysus was associated very closely with Pan and the Nymphs,⁶⁵ and this description seems to have been based on some real temple and altar in the vicinity of the city. Though the account is late, there had probably not been much change for several centuries in general appearance.

⁶¹ Wroth, *Cat.* p. lxxvi and pp. 193-4.

⁶² Wroth, *Cat.* p. 196.

⁶³ Wroth, *Cat.* p. lxix and pp. 202-15. On certain coins of the 2nd and 1st century, Dionysus is represented on the obverse and a term of him on the reverse of the same coin, Wroth, *Cat.* pp. 193 f.

⁶⁴ Longus, *Past.* IV, 3.

⁶⁵ Many passages in Longus indicate this. His detailed descriptions of Lesbos have led scholars to believe that he was a Lesbian. Cf. Christ, *Gr. Litteraturgesch.* II, pp. 653 f.

The exact nature of the god at Mytilene is difficult to determine, but perhaps his cult closely resembled the one at Methymna. So Wroth thinks because of an archaic simulacrum⁶⁶ which is a familiar type on the coins. He adds that this Dionysus is just such a type as we should expect at Methymna, and belongs to a well-known series of archaic representations of the wine god. Tümpel⁶⁷ sees in the character of Dionysophanes of Longus' romance a clear Dionysus, and in the poet Longus himself an ἀρχιρεὺς of Mytilene, mentioned in an inscription⁶⁸ of that city, Αἴλος . . . ος Λόγγος Διονυσ[όδωρ]ος παῖς Αὐ[ρηλίου 'Ε]ρμολάου; but there is no conclusive evidence for such an identification. In fact the forms of the letters show that the inscription is of too early a date.

The only cult name furnished by inscriptions⁶⁹ for Dionysus in Mytilene is that of Ἐβδομεύς, which belongs to about the time of Hadrian or later. The title is usually applied to Apollo, but here in Lesbos it may mean that there was a sacrifice to Dionysus on the seventh day, as was a custom for Apollo and other deities.⁷⁰ It is not surprising to find the number seven used among the Lesbian cults, as that number plays an important rôle in Boeotia as well as in the myths of Lesbos.⁷¹

At Pyrgi, near Mytilene, was found a round altar of dark marble dedicated to Διονύσω Θεῶ by an inscription of about the third century A. D.⁷² Also a dedication from Mytilene was recently published by Papageorgiu. Two other inscriptions of Mytilene seem to mention Dionysus, but need of much restoration forbids a definite decision.⁷³

The Dionysia at Mytilene was a very important celebration, and it was frequently decreed that men be praised in that festival for

⁶⁶ Wroth, Cat. p. lxvi. See also P. Gardner, Types of Greek Coins, p. 79 and Pl. XV, no. II. "The head in particular is of a [distinctly non-Hellenic type, with the tall headdress, and long pointed beard."

⁶⁷ Tümpel, Philol. XLVIII, 1889, p. 115, no. 31.

⁶⁸ I. G. XII, II, ii, 249 = B. C. H. IV, 1880, pp. 431 f.

⁶⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 123.

⁷⁰ Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VII, 2579.

⁷¹ Tümpel, Roscher's Lexikon, II, 1949 f. and Roscher, Abh. der Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss. XXI, no. 14. The seven Lesbian maidens of Homer, the seven Muses and the seven sons and daughters of Macar especially illustrate this.

⁷² I. G. XII, ii, 124.

⁷³ I. G. XII, ii, 64 and 136. No. 64 seems to be a decree placed in his temple, and no. 136 a dedication.

their good will and benefactions to the city.⁷⁴ The inscription ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις τῷ ἄγωνι [τῶν τραγωδίκων] refers to the dramatic contests held in the theater west of the city. Ruins of this structure⁷⁵ show that the last building dates from the third century B. C., or later. It must have been especially beautiful, as Pompey is said to have taken a plan of it for the erection of his theater in Rome.⁷⁶

Besides the Dionysia, there was also the festival *Theodaisia* at Mytilene. According to Suidas this celebration was in honor of Dionysus and the Nymphs,⁷⁷ sometimes of other deities and heroes, and was observed in the islands particularly.⁷⁸ The fragmentary Lesbian inscription⁷⁹ seems to show that a distribution of wine was ordered to the magistrates and other officials, and that choristers took part in the ceremonies.⁸⁰ The two following inscriptions of the Corpus must also treat of the same festival. In nos. 69 and 70 the name of the god is given as Ζώνυσος, and no. 69 appears to be concerned with gifts from Dionysus, while no. 70 is connected with his rites. All three inscriptions are of late Roman times.⁸¹ In the passage from Aelian cited on page 59 he speaks of *τριετηρίδες* of Dionysus, which may mean that a festival in his honor was held every three years in the region of Brisa, in the southern part of the island. Longus describes a Dionysiac festival "at the birth of the wine."⁸²

Paton in I. G. XII, ii, 81, from Mytilene, restores so that we have the name of a month [Θεο]δαίσιος; but Bechtel⁸³ because of the space reads a shorter name Δαίσιος. In either case there is probably

⁷⁴ The Dionysia is mentioned in I. G. XII, ii, 5, l. 9 (restored); 15, l. 29; 18, l. 9; 49, l. 4 (restored, doubtful); 64; Bechtel, *Aeolica*, no. 38 and Papageorgiu, *Uned. Inschr. v. Myt.* no. 1, l. 16 = Bechtel, *Aeolica*, no. 7; Wiegand, *Milet*, III, no. 152 a, note (Mytilene?).

⁷⁵ Described by Koldewey, *op. cit.* p. 9; Conze, *op. cit.* p. 9.

⁷⁶ Plutarch, *Pompey*, 42.

⁷⁷ Suidas, s. v. Ἀστυδρομία; Hesych. s. v. Θεοδαίσιος. Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.* s. v. Theodaisia.

⁷⁸ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 198.

⁷⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 68 = B. C. H. IV, 1880, pp. 424-5.

⁸⁰ See l. 12. Bechtel, *Aeolica*, no. 13, thinks he recognizes in l. 4, ΕΑΑ . . . a festival like the Theodaisia, and his reading is indeed more reasonable than Paton's.

⁸¹ See C. I. G. II, 2167, note, and Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* II, p. 514.

⁸² Longus, *Past.* II, 1-2.

⁸³ *Aeolica*, no 18. Δαίσιος is more likely because of the space, but Θεοδαίσιος is preferable because of I. G. XI, iv. 1064.

influence from the Dionysus cult.⁸⁴ An inscription I. G. XI, iv, 1064, found at Delos, gives apparently the same name for a month in Mytilene, according to Roussel's reading; which would seem to confirm Paton's longer form in the Lesbian inscription. But the stone reads ΘΕΛΑΙΣΙΩ, so that Bechtel gives the month the name *Θελαίσιος*,⁸⁵ deriving it from *θέλει τὰ αἴσια* and says that only in Mytilene is this word found. One of the Lesbians recorded in I. G. XII, ii, 210, has the name, and Wilhelm⁸⁶ suggests that the man is named from the month. He reads *Θεδαίσιος* in both cases, which indeed seems preferable.

From a scholium to Lycophron, l. 212, we learn that there was a Dionysus *Ἐνόρχης* in Lesbos, called so because his mysteries were performed with dancing; or because he spent his time among the rows of vines and plants; or because he received the name from Enorches, son of Thyestes and Daito. This epithet probably belongs to the region of Mytilene, and perhaps Daito is to be connected with the festival and month there.

There is the association of the Orpheus myth with the Dionysus temple and one or two other indications to show that the Lesbian Dionysus festivals were attended with music and song. In fact it is believed by some scholars that the dithyramb may have originated in Lesbos.⁸⁷ At any rate its development is closely associated with the Lesbian Arion.

In Lesbos, as at Argos, there was perhaps a cult of Linus connected with the Dionysus worship, according to statements about him by Theophrastus and Myrsilus, the Lesbians.⁸⁸

Sittig⁸⁹ gives seventeen names of people derived from the Dionysus cult. Only Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis furnish a greater number.

On a coin of Mytilene of the time of Lucius Verus,⁹⁰ and on one of Methymna of the time of Commodus, Demeter or Cora is shown between Athena and Dionysus. A Marcus Aurelius coin⁹¹ bears a term on a prow between the same two divinities. On a coin of

⁸⁴ Dittenberger, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. IV, 2015.

⁸⁵ *Aeolica*, p. 60.

⁸⁶ I. G. XI, iv, 1064, note.

⁸⁷ Cf. Smyth, *Gr. Melic Poets*, pp. xlv and xlv.

⁸⁸ F. H. G. IV, p. 459. See Müller's note.

⁸⁹ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 166.

⁹⁰ *Jahresh. des Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* VII, 1904, p. 24; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VI, p. 51, no. 12; p. 56, no. 33.

⁹¹ Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 34, no. 20.

the time of Septimius Severus⁹² Dionysus and Athena stand with their attributes; and on another Commodus coin⁹³ Dionysus in short chiton, and holding a cantharus and thyrsus, with a panther at his feet stands between Apollo and Athena. An Aurelius coin groups Demeter and Dionysus.⁹⁴ It is rather striking that Athena and Dionysus are so often depicted together. If the selection is made merely because of their importance, it is surprising that Artemis is not included at this period. A coin of the Antonine period represents Lesbos in the character of Dionysus.

Besides representations on coins, it is reported that a marble statue was found representing perhaps a reclining Dionysus.⁹⁵

The representations on coins of Lesbos are as follows:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 159, no. 38; p. 161, no. 56(?), 58(?), 59(?); p. 163, no. 74-5; p. 164, no. 77-82; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 34, no. 20; p. 41, no. 62; Suppl. VI, p. 49, no. 2; p. 50, no. 5; p. 51, no. 12; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 313, no. 7; Head, H. N. p. 559.

Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 193, no. 106-39; p. 199, no. 164 (Lesbos); p. 202, no. 178-80; p. 203, no. 184-5; p. 205, no. 195 (countermark), 197; p. 208, no. 210 (countermark); p. 210, no. 216; p. 211, no. 220, 223-4; p. 212, no. 225-6, 229; p. 213, no. 229-30; p. 214, no. 233-5; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 44, no. 90-4, 95(?), 96(?); p. 48, no. 116 (Lesbos); p. 54, no. 151; p. 59, no. 182; Suppl. VI, p. 61, no. 67-76; p. 64, no. 84-6; p. 76, no. 143-5; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 503; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 6-11; p. 319, no. 21-3; Head, H. N. p. 562; Abh. d. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss. 1890, p. 634.

Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 182, no. 39, 40, 42; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 38, no. 41; p. 39, no. 53; p. 41, no. 62; Suppl. VI, p. 56, no. 33-4; Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 502; Head, H. N. p. 561; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 315, no. 7.

Antissa: Wroth, Cat. p. 175, no. 8; Head, H. N. p. 560 (Orpheus or Dionysus); Abh. d. Bayr. Ak. d. Wiss. 1890, p. 633.

Nape: Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 78, no. 151.

Koinon: Wroth, Cat. p. 169, no. 1-2; p. 170, no. 6 (countermark) (?); Eckhel, D. N. II, p. 501.

Satyr or Silenus-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 159, no. 39-42; p. 164, no. 76-8; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 32, no. 1-13; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 313, no. 7. Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 196, no. 139; Head, H. N. p. 562.

Maenad-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 162, no. 67; p. 168, no. 122.

Cantharus-Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 160, no. 46. Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 178, no. 11-2; p. 179, no. 17-9; p. 180, no. 28-34; p. 190, no. 72-3; Head, H. N. p. 561; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 315.

⁹² Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 41, no. 62; Wroth, Cat. p. 169, no. 1.

⁹³ Wroth, Cat. p. 182, no. 39.

⁹⁴ Wroth, Cat. p. 169, no. 2.

⁹⁵ A. J. A. VII, 1891, p. 513.

Vine branch or grapes- Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 160, no. 46. Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 190, no. 68-70; p. 196, no. 144 (countermark); Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 44, no. 90; p. 45, no. 91-2; Suppl. VI, p. 60, no. 59; p. 62, no. 73. Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 171, no. 2; p. 179, no. 18-20; p. 180, no. 25-6; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 39, no. 50. Eresus: Wroth, Cat. p. 176, no. 6.

Thyrus-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 187, no. 30, 32; p. 191, no. 81-3(?); Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 316, no. 1(?).

Eirene

A stone with an inscription dating from the first century B. C. and reading ΠΑΝΑΣ is restored by Paton to read Εἰράνας or Κράνας. But either restoration is very doubtful.⁹⁶

Eriboia

Eriboia, a name that occurs in an inscription of Mytilene which treats of a Dionysus festival, cannot be identified. Paton includes the name under Res Sacrae.⁹⁷

Erinyes

The Erinyes are designated in a Lesbian inscription⁹⁸ as Ἀπα-
παίτητοι, "the implacable, the inexorable,"⁹⁹ and Bresus is named as their attendant. The adjective is used of deities elsewhere, but with a more general significance.¹⁰⁰ This inscription implies that the Erinyes had a cult in the region of Hiera.

Eros

Sappho, perhaps following a Lesbian tradition, is said to have represented Eros as the son of Ge and Uranus.¹⁰¹ A passage in the pastoral of Longus¹⁰² tells that Eros was revered with the Nymphs and Pan, and that sacrifices were also offered to "the winged boy, the companion of the Nymphs." He says that an altar of Eros Ποιμήν was set up. Such a story as Daphnis and Chloe may not be taken too literally, and moreover the evidence is late. Yet there were apparently for many centuries among the shepherds of the island

⁹⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 130, from Mytilene.

⁹⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 70 and Index VII.

⁹⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 484, l. 14 = Bechtel, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, V, p. 133, no. 34.

⁹⁹ Herwerden, Lex. Gr. s. v.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. I, 2666; Roscher's Lexikon, I, 2864.

¹⁰¹ Sappho, Frg. 132, Bergk.

¹⁰² Longus, Past. I, 8; IV, 39.

such devotions as Longus describes, and such association with the Nymphs and Pan. At Mytilene there is record of a man named Eros.¹⁰³

In the collection of antiquities belonging to Fachri Bey, a former governor of Mytilene, half a marble torso of Eros was found.¹⁰⁴ A terra-cotta head of Eros has also been discovered. It is of childish type, with a plait along the top of the head, and the hair waved back at each side of the face.¹⁰⁵

ETETHPIA ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ

Εὐετηρία Σεβαστά is named on the base of a statue, I. G. XII, ii, 262.

Gello

Γελλώ, a form of Empousa, was supposed to be a maiden who, dying young, became a spirit which carried off children.¹⁰⁶ Probably the myth was first localized in Lesbos.

Hebe

A terra-cotta figure, which is perhaps Hebe,¹⁰⁷ holds a *prochoos* in her right hand, and in her left a cup (?) for libation.

Hecate

Two statues of Hecate have been found, but no other evidence for her cult has been obtained. One statue¹⁰⁸ represents a triple Hecate and was found in the midst of fragments of marble columns. The other¹⁰⁹ was discovered on the little island between the two harbors of Mytilene, in a place which was the oldest part of the town.

Helius

After the time of Alexander the Great there was much intercourse and commerce between Lesbos and Rhodes. In consideration of the relative positions of the islands and the sea-faring dispositions

¹⁰³ I. G. XII, ii, 430 (gravestone).

¹⁰⁴ Now in the museum at Constantinople, Athen. Mitth. XV, 1890, p. 353 = A. J. A. VI, 1890, p. 552.

¹⁰⁵ Cat. Terra-cottas Br. Mus. no. 416.

¹⁰⁶ Hesych. s. v.

¹⁰⁷ Cat. *op. cit.* no. 454.

¹⁰⁸ A. J. A. VII, 1891, p. 513 = Rev. Arch. XIX, 1892, p. 112. The triple Hecate was later in art representation than the single form.

¹⁰⁹ Arch. Anz. 1914, p. 127.

of the peoples, it is likely that from early times there was some connection. And through the influence of Rhodes it is probable that Helius, even from the period of settlement, was recognized as a deity in Lesbos, since Macar, the great colonist, was said by one tradition to be the son of Helius and Rhodes.¹¹⁰

In Mytilene the cult seems to have existed in Roman times, according to inscriptional and numismatic records. The inscription, I. G. XII, ii, 127, says that Pompeius Ethicus honored Καλλινεϊκος "Ηλ[ιος(?)].¹¹¹ Though Καλλινεϊκος has not elsewhere been found as an epithet of Helius, it is quite a fitting one. More certain evidence is that afforded by a coin of Mytilene of about the first century B. C., which represents a bust of Helius, draped and radiate.¹¹² An inscription found at Mytilene gives a name derived from Helius.¹¹³

The only other proof of his recognition in Lesbos¹¹⁴ comes from Eresus and dates from the last half of the fourth century B. C. In the trial of the tyrant Eurysilaus, the judges were to swear by Zeus and Helius. This would not, however, imply a cult worship of him at Eresus.

Muses

In a country famous for both its music and poetry, the Muses early attained importance. The Lesbian tradition regarding them is unusual, for their number is seven,¹¹⁵ and their names are quite different from those commonly attributed to the nine Muses. Epicharmus names seven Muses, Neilo, Tritone, Asopo, Heptapore, Ache-

¹¹⁰ Diod. Sic. V, 56.

¹¹¹ The restoration seems probable. There is a possibility that a man named Callinicus is honored. Pompeius Ethicus (Cf. I. G. XII, ii, add. 653) seems to have been a Lesbian and not a foreigner. The name Pompeius occurred frequently in Lesbos in Roman times because of the favor which Pompey showed the Lesbians.

¹¹² Wroth, Cat. p. 197, no. 153-7; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 43, no. 79; Suppl. VI, p. 61, no. 63-4.

¹¹³ I. G. XII, ii, 133.

¹¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 526 c, l. 20. I. G. XII, ii, 114, a dedication to Zeus Helius Μέγας Serapis and Isis may not be counted, as it was dedicated by a citizen of Alexandria.

¹¹⁵ Arnob. III, 37 (quoting Myrsilus). Tümpel, Roscher's Lexikon, II, 1949 and Philol. 1889, pp. 99 f., thinks the number "seven" here bears a relation to the Oriental number "seven" and he traces an underlying connection between the seven Muses, the seven Lesbian maidens in Homer, and the constellation of Berenice. See also Roscher, Abh. der Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss. XXI, no. 14.

lois, Tipoplo, Rhodia, all obviously formed from names of streams.¹¹⁶ Tümpel thinks the seven Muses belong to an earlier tradition than that represented by the Aeolic settlement.¹¹⁷ Clement of Alexandria, quoting Myrsilus, the Lesbian,¹¹⁸ however, places their origin in the period represented by Macar and gives their story as follows. Macar, king of the Lesbians, was always quarreling with his wife. Megaclo, the daughter, was therefore grieved for her mother and bought the Muses as handmaidens, calling them *Mūsai* in the Aeolic dialect (*Μοῖσαι* according to Müller, F. H. G. IV, 457); she also taught them to sing and play on the cithara the deeds of olden times. They therefore charmed Macar and put an end to his rage. For this Megaclo dedicated a thank offering to them of a bronze stele on account of her mother, and gave command that they be honored at all the shrines. The statement of Clement that all the cities set aside precincts of the Muses shows the importance of the cult. There is perhaps a blending of Phoenician and Thessalian influence. Gruppe¹¹⁹ says that the Lesbian founder of the cult was Crinoeis, which denotes a Thessalian source. He believes that because Macar was priest of Dionysus at Brisa, the Muses belong to the divinities of Brisa. There is danger of drawing too many conclusions from these myths, though many of the stories are evidently aetiological, originating about well-known names, and explaining institutions and customs, the origin of which had become obscure. Purely fanciful seems to be the explanation given in the *Etymologicum Magnum*—¹²⁰ *Μέλος . . . Μύσιμβλος* (sic) *δὲ τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ γενομένας παρθένους Μούσας ἐπὶ τὰ πένθη φοιτᾶν καὶ θρηνεῖν· ὅθεν ἐπ-εκράτησε τὰ ᾄδόμενα μέλεα κληθῆναι.*

Sappho many times invoked the Muses, and sometimes with a descriptive adjective which causes us to believe that she had in mind some particular representation of them.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Epicharmus, Frg. 41, Kaibel. Though Epicharmus seems to have known the tradition of seven Muses, these names were probably invented by him, and are not those of the original Lesbian Muses. The latter were doubtless lost by the seventh century. Sappho, Frg. 82, Bergk, calls on Calliope.

¹¹⁷ Roscher's *Lexikon*, II, 1947.

¹¹⁸ Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* II, 31. Cf. Arnob. IV, 24, Numquid ex nobis Myrsilus est auctor, qui Macari filiae Megalconis ancillulas profitetur fuisse Musas? The name varies, Megaclo or Megalco.

¹¹⁹ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1078 and p. 296.

¹²⁰ *Etym. Mag.* 577, 16=F. H. G. IV, p. 457, 4.

¹²¹ Sappho, Frg. 60, Bergk, *καλλίκομοί τε Μοῦσαι*. Frg. 26, *ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ'* *ἔνισπες*, is probably not genuine.

There is definite mention of a statue in Mytilene representing one of the Muses holding a *σαμβύκη*.¹²² Athenaeus says the sculptor Lesbothemis made it.

An inscription from a place near Palaiokipos,¹²³ across the Euripus from Mytilene, reads *Τροφίμου τοῦ β. τῆς . . . [γυναικὸς τῆς ἐ]μῆς Μού[σας καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τέκ]νων*. Paton considers *Μούσα* the name of the wife of Trophimus, but even the restoration is doubtful. One other name of a person derived from the Muses has been found.¹²⁴

Nymphs

The descriptions of Lesbos by Longus in the Pastoral, "Daphnis and Chloe," though they cannot be taken too literally, clearly attest that the worship of the Nymphs was most important among the rural population.¹²⁵ In the prooemium Longus tells of a grove of the Nymphs, fair with many trees, flowery, well-watered, with one spring which nourished all the flowers and trees. Later a *Nymphaion* is described in a cave,¹²⁶ "spacious in the rock, concave within, convex without. In it were statues of the Nymphs made of marble. Their feet were bare, their arms naked to the shoulders, their hair falling loosely about their necks, a girdle about their waists, a smile in their eyes. Their appearance was that of a band of dancers." And there were dedications of the older shepherds—milk pails, flutes and shepherd's pipes. On the way to the pasture it was a custom to sit by the shrine, and on their return the shepherds worshipped and brought flowers or fruit or green leaf or libation of milk.¹²⁷ They swore by Pan and the Nymphs.¹²⁸ The Nymphs also appeared to them in visions.¹²⁹

The Nymphs in Lesbos were given the appropriate name *Ἐπιμη-λίδες*;¹³⁰ and three classes of them are distinguished, *Μελιαι*, *Δρυάδες*

¹²² Athen. IV, 182 f. and XIV, 635 a. For this instrument, which seems to have been oriental, see Dümmler, Athen. Mitth. XI, 1886, p. 38, n. 1.

¹²³ I. G. XII, ii, 495, l. 6. See Index I, Nomina Virorum et Mulierum.

¹²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 394. *Μούσαι*, which occurs in I. G. XII, ii, 443, l. 1, is used in a figurative sense.

¹²⁵ The Pastoral was dedicated to Eros, Pan and the Nymphs.

¹²⁶ Longus, Past. I, 4. Cf. also I, 13; II, 39; III, 12.

¹²⁷ For sacrifices and observances to Pan and the Nymphs see pp. 72-3.

¹²⁸ Longus, Past. II, 17; II, 39; III, 16; IV, 18. An oath common among country folk. Cf. Theoc. I, 12; IV, 29.

¹²⁹ Longus, Past. II, 23.

¹³⁰ Longus, Past. II, 39.

and 'Ελαιοι,¹³¹ and all are fair, all musical. One of these was the mother of Echo. Hesychius¹³² gives another name for the Nymphs among the Lesbians, 'Εννησιάδες. Still another class of Nymphs, Βρῖσαι,¹³³ apparently received their names from the Lesbian promontory of Brisa.

An interesting recognition of the Nymphs in connection with springs and streams is attested by a metrical inscription of Imperial times¹³⁴ which reads,

Σοὶ Πλατανῆς ἀνῆκε κόρη Διὸς ὕδατόεσσα
Πηγὴν, Νυμφάων Ὀρφιτε νᾶμα φίλον.

The feeling that the hills and woods and streams are inhabited by such divinities is found even today among the country people of Lesbos.¹³⁵

Orthrus

Orthrus occurs in a very fragmentary inscription from Mytilene,¹³⁶ but the context is too uncertain to determine anything definite about him in Lesbos.

Pan

There is no doubt that Pan enjoyed much honor in Lesbos, especially in the country districts. Wernicke¹³⁷ has pointed out that because of the connection in early times with the Boeotians, we may suppose that the Lesbian cult came from that country. At a comparatively early time we find him represented on coins.¹³⁸ The vivid way in which Longus describes the worship of Pan gives the impression that it was deep seated in the lives of the country people. Pan is mentioned in the prooemium, together with the Nymphs and Eros, as one to whom the Pastoral is dedicated.¹³⁹ The crowning

¹³¹ Longus, Past. III, 23.

¹³² Hesychius, s. v.

¹³³ Etym. Mag. p. 213, 55 and schol. Pers. Sat. I, 75. Roscher's Lexikon, III, 520. Heracl. Pont. 9, 2 (F. H. G. II, 214) says Βρῖσαι give instruction in bee culture, and Νύμφαι in the raising of cattle.

¹³⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 129.

¹³⁵ See p. 43.

¹³⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 70.

¹³⁷ Roscher's Lexikon, III, 1372.

¹³⁸ Wroth, Cat. pp. 161 and 164. Also in Methymna in the time of Caracalla, Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 56, no. 34. Aenus, an Aeolic colony of Cyme and Mytilene, has coins representing a goat-footed Pan.

¹³⁹ Longus, Past. Prooem. and IV, 36.

of the goat with pine and the sacrifice of it to the god with wine, calling propitiously on the god,¹⁴⁰ the offering of little garlands and bunches of grapes¹⁴¹ are described. His shrine was beneath the pine tree;¹⁴² and at the close of the story we are told that they gave to Pan instead of the pine a temple, called the temple of Pan Στρατιώτης.¹⁴³ Another passage of the Pastoral states that he is accustomed to camps, and leaving farming has waged many wars.¹⁴⁴ Mention is likewise made of the terrors which Pan causes.¹⁴⁵ The shepherds' favorite form of oath was by Pan and the Nymphs,¹⁴⁶ and it is he who is often invoked for aid.¹⁴⁷ At the close it is said that the characters of the story revered as long as they lived the Nymphs and Pan and Eros.¹⁴⁸

At Mytilene, according to an inscription,¹⁴⁹ a month was named for Pan.

ΘΕΟΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΙΟΙ

In Lesbos inscriptions¹⁵⁰ of Roman times mention Θεοὶ πατρῶοι. Most of these records are from Methymna, where it seems to have been the custom for the *chellestos* to offer sacrifices to these deities.

Pluto

Pluto, the name used in cult practice for Hades, occurs in a dedication made by a woman of Mytilene.¹⁵¹ In this inscription Pluto is the only god left uncharacterized by an epithet. Papageorgiu would make a dative plural of ΠΑΝΑΣΦΑΛΙΟΙ, which is the reading on the stone, and have it include Pluto.¹⁵² But though *Asphalios*

¹⁴⁰ Longus, Past. II, 31.

¹⁴¹ Longus, Past. II, 32.

¹⁴² Longus, Past. II, 23 and 31; III, 12.

¹⁴³ Longus, Past. IV, 39.

¹⁴⁴ Longus, Past. II, 23. The gods of the shepherds and warrior are closely related. See the dedication to Pan σὺστρατευόμενος (Egypt), Rev. des Études grecques, IV, 1891, p. 55, no. 9. Cf. Roscher's Lexikon, III, 1389.

¹⁴⁵ Longus, past. II, 25.

¹⁴⁶ See p. 71.

¹⁴⁷ Longus, Past. II, 7; II, 23; II, 30.

¹⁴⁸ Longus, Past. IV, 39.

¹⁴⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 69, of Imperial Age. But the month was doubtless named in the early centuries.

¹⁵⁰ These inscriptions are, I. G. XII, ii, 58 a, l. 16; 131; 498, l. 8; 502, l. 4; 503, l. 5.

¹⁵¹ See p. 23.

¹⁵² David. Ἀνέκ. Ἐπιγρ., p. 7, reads πανασφαλῖω.

is a very common title for Poseidon, it has not been found for the god of the lower world. The dative singular applying to Poseidon only is the better reading. Höfer¹⁵³ suggests that *πανεπώπη* characterizes Pluto rather than Zeus and that each deity has his special epithet. But though the term is appropriate for Pluto, the order of the words is against this view. In I. G. XII, ii 484, it is possible that Pluto is called *Μύχιος*,¹⁵⁴ and that he has a *πάρεδρος* in his service.

Priapus

According to a passage of Petronius, Priapus enjoyed an extensive cult in Lesbos.¹⁵⁵ It seems that in maritime towns he was worshipped as protector of navigation and fishing, and probably that element entered into the Lesbian cult. He was evidently also connected with the *Καλλιστεῖα*,¹⁵⁶ held at the temple of Hera. His portrait occurs with Dionysus on coins of the island,¹⁵⁷ where his bearded term closely resembles that of Dionysus.

Serapis and Isis

In consideration of the extensive communication and trade which existed between Lesbos and Egypt,¹⁵⁸ it is natural that the Lesbians should be influenced, especially during the period of Egyptian supremacy in Lesbos, by the Egyptian deities, which were forcing their way into all parts of the Greek world.¹⁵⁹

At Mytilene an inscription of the third or second century B. C.¹⁶⁰ gives a dedication to Serapis and Isis, and a later inscription dating from Roman times contains a dedication to Isis *Πελαγία Εὐάκοος*.¹⁶¹ The epithet *Pelagia* indicates control of the sea. There is a chance, though it is not likely, that these dedicatory inscriptions were erected by foreigners residing in Mytilene as an expression of individual

¹⁵³ Höfer, Roscher's Lexikon, III, 2571, compares *Ἐπωπίς* as an epithet of Demeter.

¹⁵⁴ Gruppe, Gr. Myth. p. 1139.

¹⁵⁵ Petron. Sat. 133, 3. See also De Apollon. Tyr. ch. 30.

¹⁵⁶ See pp. 27-8.

¹⁵⁷ Wroth, Cat. p. 161, no. 58 and Pl. XXXIII, 2.

¹⁵⁸ See pp. xii-xiii and Wiegand, Milet, III, no. 152 (note on p. 374).

¹⁵⁹ For a treatment of Serapis and Isis in Lesbos see A. Rusch, *De Serapide et Iside in Graecia Cultis*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 67 f.

¹⁶⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 98.

¹⁶¹ I. G. XII, ii, 113. For *Εὐάκοος* see Weinreich, Athen. Mitth. XXXVII, 1912, pp. 1 f.

devotion, and that the deities were not publicly recognized. Such a thank offering we know was made in Mytilene by Isidorus of Alexandria to Zeus, Helios, Serapis and Isis.¹⁶² But the appearance of Serapis on Lesbian coins removes this doubt. Coins showing this type date from the time of the free city, and one as late as Valerian or Gallienus.¹⁶³

From Methymna comes an inscription dating from about the first century,¹⁶⁴ and reading,

Σαραπιασταί

οἱ ἐπαγγειλάμενοι καὶ εἰσενέγκαντες τὰ ΠΕΙΡΑ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῶν μεγάλων Σαραπιείων, ὅπως εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τοῖς ΝΕΙΟΙΣ συντελῶνται αἱ θυσίαι κατ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. About thirty names follow. The inscription is of great interest and importance because it bears witness that in Methymna was a band of men organized in the worship of Serapis; and that there was a yearly festival called the Serapieia, at which sacrifices were offered.

There are three names of men derived from the names of these Egyptian gods.¹⁶⁵

Silvanus

During the centuries when Rome governed the Greek world it is to be expected that Roman deities should be introduced into that region. One of the Roman gods whose worship was spread in the provinces of Europe, North Africa, and Asia, was Silvanus.¹⁶⁶ At Mytilene there was an altar and a grove dedicated to Καλὸς Ἀγνὸς Σιλβανός, as an inscription of Imperial times¹⁶⁷ shows. Ἀγνός is the equivalent of the Roman "Sanctus," which was a favorite title applied to Silvanus; but Καλός is an attributive unusual to him.

According to Domaszewski,¹⁶⁸ only two altars of Silvanus have been found in the East—one at Pergamum and the other at Augustopolis in Phrygia. This altar at Mytilene will then make a third.

¹⁶² I. G. XII, ii, 114=Athen. Mitth. XI, 1886, p. 265, no. 3.

¹⁶³ Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 63, no. 77. Wroth, Cat. p. 203, no. 185.

¹⁶⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 511. The meaning of neither ΠΕΙΡΑ nor ΝΕΙΟΙΣ is known. For the latter Ἰσιεῖς has been conjectured, Rusch, *l. c.*

¹⁶⁵ Sittig, *op. cit.* p. 167.

¹⁶⁶ Roscher's Lexikon, IV, 869 f.

¹⁶⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 122.

¹⁶⁸ Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion, p. 79.

Themis

Themis is perhaps named in connection with the dedication of a bronze statue to Artemis at Kato-Pyrgi, north of Mytilene. But so mutilated is the inscription that the context cannot be determined. Even the name Themis depends on a probable restoration.¹⁶⁹

Tyche of Mytilene

In the myths relating to the settlements of Lesbos the eponymous heroine of the city of Mytilene¹⁷⁰ takes an important part. In later times, therefore, when the personification of cities, especially in Asia Minor, became common, it must have been very easy for the people of Mytilene to personify their city as the Tyche of Mytilene. A stone¹⁷¹ found north of the city on the way to Thermae, naming Artemis on the one side and on the other Μεγάλη Τύχη Μυτιλήνης, has been discussed in the section concerning Artemis. The types on coins of Imperial times are added to the epigraphical evidence. The coins represent Tyche wearing a chiton and peplos and turreted headdress, seated on a throne or standing, holding a patera in her right hand, and in her left a Dionysus term (sometimes a cornucopia is substituted for the term). Before her stands very often the figure of some god—Dionysus or his term, Artemis, Serapis or Asclepius. The earliest representation of the Tyche yet found occurs on a coin of the time of Domitian,¹⁷² and her appearance is especially frequent on the coins of Valerian. In some cases representations on coins are difficult to identify positively.¹⁷³ Those considered to be the Tyche are:—

Wroth, Cat. p. 202, no. 178-80; p. 203, no. 185; p. 205, no. 197; p. 210, no. 216; p. 211, no. 220, 223-7; p. 213, no. 230; p. 214, no. 232-5; Macdonald, *op. cit.*, II, p. 319, no. 21.

¹⁶⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 108=Athen. Mitth. XI, 1886, p. 281, no. 42.

¹⁷⁰ She is called daughter of Macar or Pelops, Steph. Byz. s. v. Μυτιλήνη; mother of Macar, Townl. V, Schol. II. XXIV, 544; wife of Poseidon's son Myton, see p. 39; sister of Myrina the Amazon, Diod. Sic. III, 55; daughter of Macar and sister of Methymna and other Lesbian eponymous heroes and heroines, Diod. Sic. V, 81.

¹⁷¹ I. G. XII, ii, 270=B. C. H. IV, 1880 p. 430, no. 14. Artemis is not here intended as the Tyche. See pp. 15-6.

¹⁷² Wroth, Cat. p. 205, no. 197. The inscription ΜΥΤΙΑΕΝΝΑ, a dialectic form of Mytilene, accompanies the representation.

¹⁷³ Wroth, Cat. p. 169, no. 3-4; p. 170, no. 5.

On coins of Pyrrha¹⁷⁴ of the fourth century B. C., Head thinks the Nymph Pyrrha is portrayed, but Wroth suggests that it is rather Aphrodite. The type presents a female head, wearing sphendone, earring and necklace.

General Worship

According to Hesychines,¹⁷⁵ the days on which the Lesbians performed public sacrifice were called *Μεσοστροφωνίαι*.

An important inscription from Mytilene has recently been found concerning the purification of women in temple ritual.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Wroth, Cat. p. 216, no. 1-3; Head, H. N. p. 563.

¹⁷⁵ Hesych. s. v. *Μεσοστροφωνίαι*.

¹⁷⁶ Wilamowitz and Hiller von Gaertringen, Athen. Mitth. XXX, 1905, pp. 141 f.

CHAPTER III

HEROES

Achilles

On cape Sigeum lay the town Achilleum, and near by it the grave of Achilles. There was a cult image of Achilles and a temple, and there Achilles was honored as a hero and a god.¹ As this region was colonized by Mytilene,² the influence of the cult was undoubtedly extended to Lesbos, which was so near to Sigeum. This is rendered almost certain by the fact that the island was connected by tradition with many deeds of Achilles.³

Deiphobus

An inscription found near Ilium⁴ gives a dedication of the people of Mytilene to the fortunate Deiphobus, τῷ εὐτυχεῖ Δηϊφόβῳ. But Deiphobus was more likely a citizen of Ilium than the hero of that name.

Dioscuri

In the *temenos* of the Dioscuri at Naucratis,⁵ the rim of a vase was found with the inscription Νέαρχός με κάθθηκε τοῖς Διοσκόροισι.⁶ The opinion of scholars now is that vases of this kind, discovered at Naucratis, are Lesbian. But this dedication might have been offered by Nearchus because of his personal interest in gods which were not recognized in Lesbos. Another inscription, however, found in a region even more remote than Naucratis, gives more certain evidence for the existence of a Dionysus cult in Mytilene. The inscription reads,⁷ Εὐπλεα τῷ [Διοσ]κόρῳ[ι] τῷ[ι] Μυτιληναίῳ[ι]. The restoration is probably correct, and a comparison with similar inscriptions of Prote shows that τῷ Διοσκόρῳ can scarcely be the name of a man.⁸ The addition of τῷ Μυτιληναίῳ indicates that there

¹ Pliny, H. N. V, 125; Strabo, XIII, 596.

² See Introduction, pp. x-xi.

³ Cf. Gilbert Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 222.

⁴ C. I. G. II, 3614 b.

⁵ See Introduction, p. xii.

⁶ Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, p. 67, no. 840; Hugo Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, p. 57, no. 4; Loeschke, *Arch. Anz.* 1891, p. 18.

⁷ I. G. V, i, 1549.

⁸ See I. G. V, i, Index, *Res Sacrae*.

was a cult of at least one of the Dioscuri at Mytilene. Judging by these similar inscriptions⁹ of Prote we are led to the conclusion that a citizen of Mytilene, when stopping at the island off the coast of Messenia, made a dedication to a deity of his own city in hope of a safe return. The inference is that the Dioscuri exercised in Lesbos the function which they so often held as gods of the sea. The naming of only one Dioscurus is unusual, but an illustration of the use of the single god is found in Lesbos itself. On coins¹⁰ is found a beardless male head, wearing the pileus, wreathed with laurel, and on each side of the head a star. Wroth identifies it as one of the Dioscuri or Cabeiri.

On the neighboring island of Tenedos there was a cult of the Dioscuri.¹¹

Heracles

The Minyan element in the settlement of Lesbos suggests that Heracles was an important hero in the island. In fact Roscher (Roscher's Lexikon, II, 1088) believes that the frieze representing centaurs fleeing before Heracles which was found at Assus, a Lesbian colony, was due to Thesalian influence coming by way of Lesbos.

Lesbian coins with representations of Heracles have been found dating from the fifth century; and from that time till the first century B. C. his portrait appears occasionally. During Roman Imperial times, however, he does not seem to have been used as a type. The usual representation is a bearded male head with the lion skin. On a coin of Caracalla he is crowned by Athena.¹²

At Eresus there is record of festivals with athletic games named in honor of Heracles. During them it was a custom to honor benefactors and other men worthy of praise, for we read in a decree of Eresus that a certain judge from Miletus be given honors at the Dionysia and at the Ptolemaia, and at the gymnastic games of Heracles.¹³

⁹ I. G. V, i, 1538 f.

¹⁰ Wroth, Cat. p. 166, no. 98-100 (dating 440-350); Macdonald, *op. cit.* p. 313, no. 11. On a relief at Sparta (Athen. Mitth. II, 1877, p. 393) one Dioscurus is also represented.

¹¹ I. G. XII, ii, 640 mentions a priest of the Dioscuri.

¹² Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 73, no. 132.

¹³ Wiegand, Milet, III, no. 152, ll. 77, 82, 89.

An inscription from Mytilene¹⁴ and one from Kato-Pyrgi,¹⁵ in the same region, seem to indicate that a similar festival, called the Hera-cleia, was celebrated also in the south-eastern part of the island.

There are eight names of men derived from Heracles in Lesbos.

Coins representing Heracles are as follows:—

Lesbos: Wroth, Cat. p. 157, no. 13-6; p. 158, no. 26; p. 166, no. 102(?); p. 167, no. 114; Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 49, no. 3; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 312.

Mytilene: Suppl. VI, p. 73, no. 132.

Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 179, no. 16; Head, H. N. p. 561.

Club-Mytilene: Wroth, Cat. p. 188, no. 45, 46(?); Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 60, no. 58. Methymna: Wroth, Cat. p. 180, no. 27. Antissa: Wroth, Cat. p. 175, no. 3, 8, 9.

Lampetus

Lampetus, who is said to have been slain by Achilles,¹⁶ became a local hero and had honor paid him at his tomb in Lesbos.¹⁷ Plehn thinks his *heroon* was probably near that of Lepetymnus, in the region of Methymna.¹⁸ The hero, Irus, father of Lampetus, was of Thessalian origin.¹⁷

Lepetymnus

Myrsilus, the Lesbian,¹⁹ says that there was the *heroon* of Lepetymnus and a temple of Apollo at Mt. Lepetymnus, near Methymna.

Orpheus

It is not unfitting that Lesbos, which was called *πασέων . . . αοιδοτάτη*,²⁰ should be closely associated with the myth and worship of Orpheus. In ancient times this was commented upon by Aristides Rhetor,²¹ who says οἱ φατέ μὲν τὴν νῆσον ἅπασαν ὑμῖν εἶναι μουσικὴν καὶ τούτου τὴν Ὀρφέως κεφαλὴν αἰτιᾶσθε. Eustathius²² also tries to

¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 49.

¹⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 480=B. C. H. IV, 1880, p. 447. Cf. Nilsson, Gr. Feste, p. 453.

¹⁶ Parthen. Erot. ch. 21=F. H. G. IV, p. 314. Eustath. Comment. II. 1030, 25, calls him Lampus.

¹⁷ Steph. Byz. s. v. Λαμπέτειον.

¹⁸ Plehn, Lesbiaca, p. 9.

¹⁹ Antig. Caryst. ch. 17.

²⁰ Stobaeus, Flor. 64, 14 (Phanocles), and Hyginus, Poet, Astron. II, 7, pro quo beneficio ad musicam artem ingeniosissimi existimantur esse.

²¹ Aristides, I, p. 84, Dindorf.

²² Eustath. Dion. Per. 536.

explain the reason for the association of the story with Lesbos, saying, "There they say that after his death the head, giving forth utterances, was carried. And this was told because in this place after Orpheus the men best in eloquence were born, among whom were Arion of Methymna, and Pittacus, and the poet Alcaeus, and Sappho." Nicomachus,²³ figuratively expressing the influence of Orpheus, says that seamen of Antissa found the lyre of Orpheus and took it to Terpander. Obviously, as Plehn²⁴ states, the story of the head was an expression in mythical form of musical skill brought by the Aeolians from the Boeotian Thracians, and in Lesbos perfected. Of interest in this connection is the fact that at the mouth of the Hebrus lay the city of Aenus, a colony of Lesbos and Cyme.²⁵

The stories about the head and lyre of Orpheus differ a great deal, and of these perhaps Lucian²⁶ tells the most elaborate. In the course of the story he says that the Lesbians, taking up the head,²⁷ buried it where now they have a *Baccheion*; but the lyre they hung up in the temple of Apollo, and for much time it was kept safe. Maas believes that the *Baccheion* which Lucian mentions lay in the region of Lyrnessus.²⁸ For Philostratus²⁹ says that it was to the Aeolian city of Lyrnessus that the lyre was brought; and adds, "Still even now the parts of Lyrnessus about the sea sound with music through the singing of the rocks." Nicomachus and Antigonus of Carystus³⁰ say that the site was the old city of Antissa, and this is more probable in consideration of the Dionysus cult. Gruppe³¹ believes that the symbols on the coins of Antissa, such as the Thracian tiara, suggest a connection with the Orpheus story.

²³ Nicomachus, *Musici Scrip.* Gr. p. 266.

²⁴ Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 140.

²⁵ Strabo, VII, 331, frg. 52. See Introduction, pp. x-xi.

²⁶ Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 11 f.

²⁷ The head alone is mentioned by Antig. Caryst. (Myrsilus) *Hist. Mir.* V; Philostr. *Heroic.* V, p. 306; Hyginus, *Poet. Astr.* II, 7; Proclus, *In Rempub.* p. 121 (p. 101 Schoell). The lyre alone is mentioned in Nicomachus, *l. c.*; Philostr. *Heroic.* X, p. 311. For the head and lyre see Stobaeus, *l. c.*; Ovid, *Meta.* XI, 55.

²⁸ The home of the maiden Brisa, Maas, *Orpheus*, p. 131.

²⁹ Philostr. *l. c.* Nicom. *l. c.*

³⁰ Antig. Caryst. *l. c.* calls it Antissaia, and says that the nightingales sang more sweetly there than elsewhere.

³¹ Roscher's *Lexikon*, III, 1093.

Lucian says that the head was buried; and this grave for the head then became apparently a center for an oracle of the dead, such as were scattered throughout Greece. Miss Harrison³² thinks that the lyre was probably a later decorative addition to an old head-oracle story. At any rate the oracle of Orpheus enjoyed considerable fame, and sent responses not only to the neighboring Ionians, but even to Babylon. Philostratus says that it was a convenient oracle also for the Achaeans at Troy. Evidently there was later rivalry on the part of the oracle of Apollo, and the prophetic power of Orpheus lost its fame.³³ Still his shrine appears to have existed until late times; and Apollonius of Tyana is said to have visited the *adyton* of Orpheus.³⁴

No certain identification of Orpheus on coins has been made, but a youthful male head is thought by Wroth to be perhaps a representation of Orpheus because of the headdress, which may be Thracian,³⁵ and because of its resemblance to the well-known Naples relief of Orpheus and Eurydice.

Palamedes

The evidence for the existence of a cult center of Palamedes in Lesbos itself is very doubtful, though some scholars do interpret certain passages referring to the shrine of Palamedes so as to consider it in the northern part of the island, near Methymna.³⁶ To be sure, Lycophron concerning the death of Palamedes says, *ὃν νεοσκαφὲς κρίψει ποτ' ἐν κλήροισι Μηθύμνης στέγος*.³⁷ But *ἐν κλήροισι Μηθύμνης* must refer to the territory on the continent belonging to Methymna, as indeed Philostratus³⁸ shows, *ἔθαψαν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀχιλλεύς τε καὶ Αἴας ἐς τὴν ὁμορον τῇ Τροίᾳ τῶν Αἰολέων ἡπείρον*. A sentence or two below he

³² Jane Harrison, *Proleg. to Gr. Religion*, p. 465-7. For illustration in vase-painting, see Miss Harrison, *l. c.* It is said to have given the famous oracle to Cyrus, *τὰ ἐμά, ὦ Κύρῃ, σά*. Philostr. *Heroic*. V, p. 306.

³³ Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* IV, 14.

³⁴ Philostr. *l. c.*

³⁵ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 155, no. 58; Eckhel, *D. N.* II, p. 501(?); Head, *H. N.* p. 558.

³⁶ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 296, "Der Palamedes auf dem Berge im Norden der Insel." On p. 634 he says that Palamedes' grave was either in the region of Methymna, or on the Trojan shore colonized by Methymna. Höfer, *Roscher's Lexikon*, III, 1271; Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 9.

³⁷ Lycophron, l. 1097 and Tzetzes, *schol.*

³⁸ Philostr. *Heroic*. X, p. 312. Plehn, *l. c.* thinks that Philostratus means that the sepulchre was in Asia Minor, but the sanctuary in Lesbos.

adds, *μαστεύειν δὲ χρὴ τὸ ἱερὸν κατὰ Μήθυμνάν τε καὶ Λεπέτυμνον*, *ὅρος δὲ τοῦτο ὑψηλὸν ὑπερφαίνεται τῆς Λέσβου*. The phrase *κατὰ Μήθυμνάν τε καὶ Λεπέτυμνον* alone is rather ambiguous, and Tzetzes³⁹ wrote *ἐν Λεπετύμνῳ δὲ ὄρει τῆς Μηθύνης τέθαιπται ὁ Παλαμῆδης*. But this statement is evidently incorrect,⁴⁰ as is shown by the account given in the life of Apollonius of Tyana, who went to find the grave of Palamedes, *Περιβαλὼν οὖν τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀκρωτήριον ἐκέλευσε τὸν κυβερνήτην κατασχεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἰολέων, ἣ ἀντιπέρας Λέσβου κεῖται, πρὸς Μήθυμνάν τε μᾶλλον τετραμμένον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ὅρμον*.⁴¹

Likewise Pliny, in naming the towns of the Troad on the Gulf of Adramyttium, calls one *Palamedeum*,⁴² which undoubtedly obtained its name from the hero. But even if the seat of the cult was in the territory owned by Methymna in Asia Minor, the people of Lesbos must have taken considerable interest in honors rendered him. Philostratus says that a shrine was built to him and a noble statue of Palamedes in armor was set up, and that those living in the coast cities assembled and gave sacrifice.⁴³ But by the time of the Roman Empire the cult became neglected. Apollonius⁴⁴ found the grave, and buried near it a statue, with *Θείῳ Παλαμῆδει* painted on the base. He therefore set it up and put a shrine around it.

According to Curtius,⁴⁵ the Palamedes cult arose through a personification of the Phoenician culture, as his inventions are of Phoenician origin. Gruppe,⁴⁶ however, believes Palamedes was brought from Locris, apparently to Issa and from there to Methymna. It is interesting to note that this cult of the hero who was reputed to have made calculations about the rising and setting of the stars, should have been associated with Mt. Lepetymnus, the home of the famous astronomer Matricetas.⁴⁷

³⁹ Tzetzes, *l. c.* Cf. Ps. Eudocia, *Violarium*, p. 321, *ἐν Λεποτύμνῳ ὄρει Μηθύμνης*, and Tzetzes, *schol. Lycophron*, l. 386.

⁴⁰ Holzinger, *Lycophron*, l. 1098, note.

⁴¹ Philostr. *Vit. Apol.* IV, 13, p. 133 k.

⁴² Pliny, *H. N.* V, 123.

⁴³ Philostr. *Heroic.* X, p. 312.

⁴⁴ Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* IV, 13, p. 133 k. See Philostr. *Heroic.* II, p. 296, for the appearance of Palamedes to a farmer and the advice given about the protection of vines.

⁴⁵ *Rh. Mus.* VII, 1850, p. 455.

⁴⁶ Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 296; p. 623, n. 6; p. 634.

⁴⁷ Theophr. *De Sign. Pluv. et Vent.* I, 4.

Penthilus

Penthilus, the son of Orestes and Erigone, was said to have led a colony of Aeolians to Lesbos.⁴⁸ Stephanus⁴⁹ states that Penthile was a city of Lesbos and that the citizens were called Πενθιλεῖς from Penthilus; from which Eitrem⁵⁰ concludes that Penthilus was given heroic honors among the Lesbians.

Tantalus

In Stephanus⁵¹ we find two statements made of Tantalus with reference to Lesbos. The first is that Polion was a place in the island, where was the *heroon* of Tantalus, and the other that Tantalus is a mountain that takes its name from him. According to Gruppe, from East Boeotia his cult was planted in Elis and Polion. We find here another trace of the association of the myths of Pelops with Lesbos.

Trambelus

When Achilles was carrying off spoils of war from Lesbos, Trambelus opposed him and fell. Achilles, in admiration of his bravery, asked him who he was and learned that he was son of Telamon. Weeping for the deed he built a great mound on the shore. "And this, still today, is called 'the *Heroon* of Trambelus,' " says Parthenius.⁵²

⁴⁸ Strabo, IX, 402; X, 447; XIII, 582; Paus. III, 2, 1, etc. The Penthelidae were an important family in Lesbos. Pittacus was related by marriage to a Penthilus, Diog. Laert. I, 4, 8.

⁴⁹ Steph. Byz. s. v. Πενθίλη.

⁵⁰ Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VIII, 1139.

⁵¹ Steph. Byz. s. v. Πόλιον and Τάνταλος.

⁵² Parthen. Erot. ch. 26=F. H. G. IV, p. 335, 2 a. Cf. Fick, Vorgr. Ortsnamen, p. 63.

CHAPTER IV

KINGS AND EMPERORS

In historic times the first person to whom heroic honors seem to have been given was Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great. At Eresus was an altar of Zeus Φιλίππιος,¹ erected in his honor. Pistorius² believes that the altar was set up at the overthrow of the earlier tyrants, Hermon, Heraeus and Apollodorus, some time before the death of Philip, and not at the expulsion of Agonippus and Eurysilaus (probably 334 B. C.). For if the altar were erected two years after the death of Philip, Pistorius explains, we should have to deal with a kind of extended hero cult, in which the honor no longer clings to the site of the tomb, and such a worship cannot be proved in any other place for Philip; while divine honors received during his life time are not seldom to be found. But the passages which Pistorius cites³ do not clearly prove that Philip enjoyed during his life such regular worship as the erection of an altar to Zeus Φιλίππιος indicates. Hirschfeld⁴ seems more correct in saying that the establishment of the cults of living heroes and men in power arose first after Alexander the Great, and perhaps in Egypt and Persia the notion that the king was god or son of a god obtained earliest recognition. It seems more likely that the altar was erected after the death of Philip, in the cult of a departed hero, such as those which the Lesbians already knew.

During the third century honors in Lesbos seem to have been given to the Ptolemies only. An inscription from Methymna⁵ calls Ptolemy IV, Philopator (221-205 B. C.) and his wife Berenice Θεοὶ εὐεργέται. Another inscription⁶ of the same city is probably to be restored to read 'Ἀρσινόη Θεά. From the last line of the inscription to Ptolemy Philopator and Berenice it is believed that the birthday of Ptolemy was observed in Methymna. Likewise a month, the

¹ I. G. XII, ii, 526, l. 5.

² Pistorius, *op. cit.* p. 121.

³ For honors to Philip see Diod. Sic. XVI, 92, 5; Demos. Trugges. (XIX), 261; Arrian, 1, 17, 11; Paus. I, 9, 4; VIII, 30, 6. For honors of like nature to other men, Lysander: Plut. Lys. 18, 3, 4; Agesilaus: Plut. Apophth. Lac. Ages. 25; Dion: Diod. Sic. XVI, 20, 6.

⁴ Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 471.

⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 498 = Dittenberger, O. G. I, 78 = Collitz, *Dial. Inschr.* no. 276.

⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 513.

name of which begins with Πτ . . . was apparently so called in honor of an Egyptian king.⁷ At Eresus Ptolemaia were celebrated as late probably as the second century B. C.,⁸ even though the time had passed when Egypt had control in Eresus.

Roman Emperors

The cult of Dea Roma was spread in Asia Minor in the early period of the Roman conquest in the East. Even in 195 B. C. the people of Smyrna erected a temple to this goddess.⁹ In Lesbos likewise the worship may have been instituted in such cities as Methymna and Eresus, which were particularly friendly to Rome. Mytilene, however, was wavering in her allegiance, and at the time when Pompey assumed control of affairs in the East she was in great danger of punishment from Rome because of the help and favor that she had shown Mithridates.¹⁰ Through the unexpected mercy which Pompey displayed towards Mytilene at this crisis, he won her friendship and numerous expressions of thanks, recorded in honor inscriptions which name him as Σωτήρ,¹¹ Αὐτοκράτωρ,¹² Κτιστής,¹³ Εὐεργέτης.¹⁴ There must have been honors after Pompey's victory in the East, but in no case is the title Θεός found for him in Lesbos. About heroic honors to his son scholars do not agree.¹⁵ Several coins given by Mionnet¹⁶ bear an inscription ἥρως Σέξτος. These Cichorius¹⁷ thought referred to Sextus Pompey, as Sextus alone would not have been sufficient to designate any other. Gardthausen was opposed to this view and produced very good arguments against it. H. Heinen rightly agrees with Gardthausen, believing that the Sextus here portrayed lived after the time of the Flavians and is husband of Flavia Nicomachis, shown on the reverse of the same

⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 500.

⁸ Wiegand, Milet, III, no. 152, ll. 77, 89 and note. I. G. XII, ii, 527, l. 25. The festival consisted of gymnastic games.

⁹ Tac. Ann. IV, 56. Cf. Buckler and Robinson, A. J. A. XVII, 1913, pp. 44, 45.

¹⁰ Rev. des Études grecques, XVIII, 1905, pp. 166 f.

¹¹ I. G. XII, ii, 140, 142-9, 163 a, 165 a, 202.

¹² I. G. XII, ii, 140, 163 a, 164 a, 165 a, 202.

¹³ I. G. XII, ii, 140, 163a, 165 a, 202.

¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 140, 142, 143, 163 a, 165 a.

¹⁵ See Hirschfeld, Kleine Schriften, p. 475.

¹⁶ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 46, no. 104-6; Suppl. VI, p. 63, no. 81.

¹⁷ Cichorius, Rom und Mytilene, p. 9.

coin. H. Heinen¹⁸ rightly agrees with Gardthausen. F. Imhoof-Blumer has lately published another coin of Mytilene with the inscription ΣΕΞΤΟΣ ΝΕΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡ(ΕΥΣ) and a bearded head of Sextus on the obverse, while on the reverse is a bust of Andromeda with the inscription ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΔΑ ΝΕΑ ΛΕΣΒΩ. Imhoof-Blumer suggests that this last inscription is in the dative case, and that by the coin the "new Macareus" renders honor to the "new Lesbos," who was probably his wife.¹⁹ On a coin of Marcus Aurelius is also the legend, Sextus Hero.²⁰

But by her very friendship with Pompey, Mytilene was again brought into danger of punishment by Rome, and was no doubt very eager after the battle of Pharsalus to win favor with Julius Caesar. An inscription which appears to give honor to Caesar the Dictator, and which mentions Roma Νικηφόρος, dates probably a short time after this battle.²¹ Καίσαρος θεοῦ serves as the heading of a letter which was written by Caesar to the Lesbians in 45, but the monument which records the letter was probably not erected until after the death of Caesar in the next year.²² The other inscriptions preserved which refer to Julius Caesar as a god are of later date.²³

Many Lesbian inscriptions give to Augustus titles of divinity, and together with the goddess Roma he had a firmly established cult. Ἀρχίρεως διὰ βίῳ Θέας Ῥώμας καὶ τῷ Σεβάστῳ Δίῳ Καίσαρος Ὀλυμπίῳ . . . προεδρία²⁴ tells of a priest of Rome and Augustus, and

¹⁸ Gardthausen, Augustus, II, p. 160, n. 20. He claims that Mionnet, in Description de Médailles, describes the coins very inaccurately, but somewhat better in the Supplément. The likeness of the portrait to Sextus Pompey is limited to the full beard. H. Heinen, Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, 1911, p. 138, note 9. (Heinen gives wrong reference to Cichorius).

¹⁹ Rev. Belge de Numis. LXV, 1909, pp. 235 f. Wroth reviewing Imhoof-Blumer reads Νέα Λέσβος and Μάρκου but ΛΕΣΒΩ is clear on the coin. Wroth, Cl. Rev. XI, 1897, p. 227.

²⁰ Riv. Ital. di Numis. XXI, 1908, p. 320.

²¹ I. G. XII, ii, 25.

²² I. G. XII, ii, 35 b, l. 7.

²³ I. G. XII, ii, 166 dates between September, 1 A. D. and February, 3 A. D. Papageorgiu, Uned. Inschr. v. Myt. no. 9 and I. G. XII, ii, 165 b, c mention also Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Augustus is called son of a god in I. G. XII, ii, 61, 152, 153, 157, 158, 164 d, 536; Papageorgiu, *op. cit.* no. 13. In I. G. XII, ii, 53 Caesar writes Θεοῦ υἱός (restored) in a letter to the people of Eresus, but Θεῶ Καίσαρι (l. 19) was probably written by the people of Eresus.

²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 656.

an altar²⁵ erected in his honor has been preserved. I. G. XII, ii, 58a, l. 15, ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, if correctly restored, mentions a temple of Augustus which would date very early—about 27 B. C., probably.²⁶ He has the titles Θεὸς Σεβαστός,²⁷ Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος,²⁸ Καῖσαρ ὁ Θεός²⁹ and Ἐλευθέριος.³⁰ Most of the inscriptions come from Mytilene, and in fact only three are from other places, two being from Methymna³¹ and one from Plakados near Mytilene.³²

Divine honors were also extended to many members of the family of Augustus, and Hirschfeld³³ believes that Livia had a cult in the East during the lifetime of Augustus. The inscription ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ on coins of Lesbos shows that she was given divine honors there.³⁴

Eresus gave Julia, daughter of Augustus, the name Ἀφροδίτα Γενέτειρα³⁵ and Plakados, near Mytilene, set up an inscription³⁶ to νέα Αφροδίτα τῇ παίδι τῷ Σεβάστω Θέῳ Καίσαρος τῇ εὐεργέτιδι. On a coin of Mytilene she is called ΙΟΥ. ΘΕΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ ΜΥΤΤΙ.³⁷ To her husband, Agrippa, was also given the title Θεός.³⁸

Hirschfeld³⁹ believes that Gaius and Lucius Caesar were not allowed by Augustus to have a cult during their life time. But Mytilene hastened soon after the death of Lucius to proclaim him Θεός; for in an inscription of honor to the two adopted sons of Augustus,⁴⁰ which must date before the death of Gaius, Lucius alone is

²⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 152. Cf. Heinen, *op. cit.* p. 170.

²⁶ Dittenberger, O. G. I. II, no. 456, so dates it.

²⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 61, 153, 155, 157, 164 d, 168, 170, 204, 482, 536, 539.

²⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 206, 209, 540 (Zeus omitted), 656; Papageorgiu, *l. c.*

²⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 44, l. 14; Papageorgiu, *l. c.*

³⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 156.

³¹ I. G. XII, ii, 539 and 540.

³² I. G. XII, ii, 482.

³³ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* p. 484.

³⁴ Heinen, *op. cit.* p. 175. See also Eckhel, D. N. VI, p. 648; Mionnet, Descr. VI, p. 671, no. 404 (uncertain); Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 39, no. 55.

³⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 537=Athen. Mitth. XIV, 1889, p. 259, no. 37.

³⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 482. Eckhel, D. N. VI, p. 168, Pergamum or Smyrna likewise honored Julia as Aphrodite.

³⁷ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 48, no. 118. Heinen, *op. cit.* p. 176, says Julia was called Göttin in Lesbos, but his reference (B. C. H. 1880, p. 517) in note 15 refers to an inscription from Thrace.

³⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 166 c, 168, 171, 203. These honors were doubtless given to Julia and Agrippa during their stay in Lesbos, about 23 B. C.

³⁹ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* p. 486.

⁴⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 166 b (between September, 1 A. D. and February, 3 A. D.).

called *Θεός*. Likewise a coin of Augustus shows the heads of the two princes.⁴¹

Germanicus⁴² and Agrippina,⁴³ especially because of their residence in Mytilene in 18 A. D., were honored as god and goddess by dedications and coins, and their daughter Agrippina was called *Θέα βουλάα*.⁴⁴ Drusus Germanicus⁴⁵ received the title *ὁ Θεός*, and Drusilla⁴⁶ that of *νέα Ἀφροδίτη*.

In the time of Tiberius we may conclude that the priesthood of the Augusti was very large at Eresus, from an inscription which reads,⁴⁷ *Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστον τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα τὸν σωτήρα τὰς οἰκημένας οἱ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σεβαστῶν ἱερεῖς καθιέρωσαν*. An inscription from the vicinity of Mytilene and one from Hiera give Tiberius divine honors.⁴⁸

A few inscriptions honoring Nerva,⁴⁹ Trajan,⁵⁰ and Sabina⁵¹ as deities are found and a coin of Trajan is inscribed *ΘΕΑΝ ΡΩΜΑΝ ΜΥΤΙ*.⁵² But those records which give divine titles to Hadrian are especially numerous. *Ἐλευθέριος*, *Ὀλύμπιος* and *Ὀλυμπιόκτιστος* are the names chosen to give him honor.⁵³ An inscription which reads *πρὸς τοῖς Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς*,⁵⁴ it is impossible to assign definitely to the reign of

⁴¹ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 40, no. 56.

⁴² I. G. XII, ii, 212, 213 b, and by restoration, 210 and 213 a. See also Wroth, Cat. p. 204, no. 193, and Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 49, no. 121-2; Suppl. VI, p. 65, no. 88-90, for *Θεός Γερμανικός* on coins.

⁴³ I. G. XII, ii, 208, 210, 212 (by restoration), 213 a, b, 258. See also Wroth, Cat. p. 204, no. 193; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 49, no. 121; Suppl. VI, p. 65, no. 88; and (*Θεὰ Αἰολίς Ἀγριππείνα*) Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 49, no. 122; Suppl. VI, p. 65, no. 89-90.

⁴⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 211.

⁴⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 207.

⁴⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 172 b.

⁴⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 541.

⁴⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 205, 484.

⁴⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 139, 181, 200, 214 and 104(?) (Henzen, Ephem. Epig. II, p. 22).

⁵⁰ I. G. XII, ii, 200.

⁵¹ I. G. XII, ii, 200 and 262(?).

⁵² Mionnet, Suppl. VI, p. 65, no. 92.

⁵³ I. G. XII, ii, 536, from Eresus, *Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Θεός* also dates perhaps from the time of Hadrian. From Mytilene are I. G. XII, ii, 185, 191-6, *Ἐλευθέριος Ὀλύμπιος*; also 197-9 by restoration; 183, *Ἐλευθέριος Ὀλυμπιόκτιστος Ζεὺς*; 186-90, *Ὀλύμπιος*; 184 and Papageorgiu, *op. cit.* no. 3, *Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος*.

⁵⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 224, l. 7. Paton, (see note) and Latschev (Athen. Mitth. X, 1885, p. 121, no. 22) think this stone without doubt came from Mytilene, though the man who brought it to the museum at Odessa claimed that it came from Halicarnassus.

any one emperor. Likewise undetermined is the emperor to whom the prayer is made in the inscription, μέγιστος θεῶν Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Σεβαστὸς οἵτε λοιποὶ Ἀθάνατοι πάντες τοῦτον ἐξολέσειαν σώζοιεν δέ με.⁵⁵

Elagabalus and Aquilia were on coins given the title of divinity.⁵⁶ And one of the frequent devices on coins of the later period was a representation of the emperor crowned by the goddess of the island.⁵⁷

No doubt Mytilene was as early as Pergamum and other important Asiatic cities to build a temple to Augustus, as has been seen from indications in I. G. XII, ii, 58a. The establishment of permanent priesthoods⁵⁸ in their honor also leads to the conclusion that there were temples of the Augusti. It is not until the records of the second or third century, however, that we find in an inscription suggestion again made of a temple of Augustus, and that, too, by restoration.⁵⁹ Coins of the period commemorate the dedication of an octostyle temple, finished after the death of Marcus Aurelius and dedicated to Commodus in about 180 A. D.⁶⁰ Coins of the time of Elagabalus show a tetrastyle temple, with the Emperor sacrificing before it.⁶¹

Whether a Neocoria was granted to the *Koinon* is not known.

⁵⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 278, 11. 5 f. To whom *θεός* applies in Papageorgiu, *op. cit.* no. 9 a and c is also not determined.

⁵⁶ Mionnet, Descr. p. 58, no. 177.

⁵⁷ Wroth, Cat. p. 169, no. 34; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 35, no. 23; Suppl. VI, p. 50, no. 7; Macdonald, *op. cit.* II, p. 318, no. 17.

⁵⁸ I. G. XII, ii, 154, 210, 549 (priest and high priest of the Augusti and all the other gods and goddesses).

⁵⁹ I. G. XII, ii, 65 = B. C. H. XV, p. 672.

⁶⁰ Pick, Jahresh. des Oesterr. Arch. Inst. VII, 1904, pp. 6 and 24-5. Types of the Commodus temple, Wroth, Cat. p. 170, no. 6; Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 34, no. 22-4 and Suppl. VI, p. 50, no. 4-6, 8-11.

⁶¹ Mionnet, Descr. III, p. 58, no. 177.

CHAPTER V

LESBIAN CITIZENS

During the Roman Imperial Age not only were cults of Roman emperors and their families established in Lesbos, but heroic titles and other divine honors were also given to Lesbians who attained distinction. This fact literature, inscriptions and coins declare. The earliest of these citizens to win such honors seems to have been Theophanes,¹ who by his ability as an historian won favor with Pompey, and who through Pompey gained pardon from Rome in a manner almost miraculous, when punishment had seemed inevitable. Tacitus² says, "defuncto Theophani caelestes honores Graeca adulatio tribuerat," and the statement is confirmed by an inscription found at Mytilene³ which reads *Θέω Δίῃ Ἐλευθερίῳ φιλοπάτριδι Θεοφάνη*. Coins of Livia and Augustus bear the legend *Θεοφάνης Θεός*⁴ and one from the time of Tiberius has the head of Theophanes with the inscription *Θεοφάνης Θεός* on the obverse, and on the reverse *Ἀρχέδαμης Θεά*, with the bust of Archedamis, draped and veiled.⁵ Archedamis is thought to be the wife of Theophanes, but Paton doubts this.⁶

Towards the end of the second century an inscription from Mytilene⁷ gives the following record of honor, *ὁ δάμος Μ. Πομπήϊον Μακρέϊνον, νέον Θεοφάνην*. From this F. Deneken⁸ infers that the divine honors and cult of the older Theophanes remained unweakened after two hundred years. But L. Hahn⁹ believes that this man was a descendent of Theophanes. It may be, however, that *νέος Θεοφάνης* was added to the name of Macrinus simply because Theophanes

¹ Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, pp. 211 f. and H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Rev. des Études grecques*, XVIII, 1905, pp. 166-8.

² Tac. Ann. VI, 18.

³ I. G. XII, ii, 163 b.

⁴ Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 48, no. 117; *Suppl.* VI, p. 63, no. 80.

⁵ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 198, no. 158; Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 47, no. 108; Eckhel, *D. N.* II, p. 504.

⁶ Paton's note, I. G. XII, ii, 232.

⁷ I. G. XII, ii, 235 = Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.* XLIII, 1885, pp. 150 f.

⁸ Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 2549. In the time of Septimius Severus, Theophanes is also represented on coins. Wroth, *Cat.* p. 201, no. 175.

⁹ *Rom und Romanismus*, p. 229.

was illustrious in memory, just as νέος Μακαρέυς was added to the name of Sextus on a coin of earlier date.¹⁰

At the time of Augustus there lived in Mytilene another important Lesbian, Potamon, son of Lesbonax, orator and statesman.¹¹ On the walls of one of the buildings in Mytilene was doubtless a record of the decrees in his honor. Several of these inscriptions preserved from this so-called Monumentum Potamoneum¹² praise him as Εὐεργέτης, Σωτήρ and Κτίστης, but none yet found give him titles of divinity. On one of the stones which is in a very fragmentary condition, however, the words τὸν ἡρόϊσμον¹³ may be distinguished. This, as well as the existence of such a building, leads to the belief that Potamon enjoyed heroic honors. Likewise an inscription seems to indicate a festival established in his honor.¹⁴ In the time of Tiberius,¹⁵ a Lesbonax who must have been the father of the statesman Potamon, and therefore dead, according to Cichorius, was given the title νέος ἥρωσ. Still later, in the time of the Antonines, on the obverse of a coin is the inscription Λεσβώναξ ἥρωσ νέος with a male bust, beardless, and wearing a wreath of ivy berries. Here is represented Lesbonax in the character of Dionysus.¹⁶

Coins of Matidia, niece of Trajan, which show a male figure with the attributes of Asclepius and the legend ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ are better considered as representing a Mytilene physician, honored with divine attributes. One of these coins has on the reverse a portrait of Dada, which causes Wroth¹⁷ to suggest that Pancratides may be related to her.

Δεινόμαχος ἥρωσ appears on a Lesbian coin found by Svoronos¹⁸ in Athens. Coins of the time of the Antonines¹⁹ bear the inscriptions

¹⁰ See p. 87.

¹¹ Cichorius, *op. cit.* p. 62; Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 217.

¹² I. G. XII, ii, p. 13.

¹³ I. G. XII, ii, 29.

¹⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 51.

¹⁵ Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 48 no. 116. Cf. E. Deneken, *Roscher's Lexikon*, I, 2549.

¹⁶ Wroth, *Cat.* p. 199, no. 164; Mionnet, *Suppl.* VI, p. 64, no. 84-5. Cichorius, *op. cit.* p. 65. Distinct from Lesbonax, the philosopher, thought Imhoof-Blumer, *Cl. Rev.* XI, 1897, p. 227.

¹⁷ Wroth, *Cl. Rev.* VII, 1894, pp. 226 f. Head, *H. N.* p. 563.

¹⁸ *Riv. Ital. di Numis.* XXI, 1908, p. 321.

¹⁹ Procla: Wroth, *Cat.* p. 200, no. 165; Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 47, no. 109-11; Macdonald, *op. cit.* p. 318, no. 14. Nausicaa: Wroth, *Cat.* p. 200, no. 167; Mionnet, *Descr.* III, p. 47, no. 113. Wroth, *Cl. Rev. l. c.*; Svoronos, *Riv. Ital. di Numis.* XXI, 1908, p. 320.

ΙΟΥ. ΠΡΟΚΛΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ and ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑΑΝ ΗΡΩΙΔΑ. Wroth identifies Julia Procla with the Procla of I. G. XII, ii, 240. Some scholars believe that Nausicaa²⁰ here refers to the Homeric heroine, but by far the greater number are inclined to believe her a prominent Lesbian woman given heroic honors.²¹ In the second century such heroic honors were frequently given to both men and women, as a large number of inscriptions show. Four sepulchral inscriptions, found in the southern part of the city and belonging perhaps to a public monument, record names of men who won the title *ἥρως*.²² And two other stones of like character and bearing similar inscriptions, found in the same place, are supposed to mark the graves of men who were likewise honored as heroes, though the word *ἥρως* is omitted on these two stones.²³ Stones from individual graves of heroes have been discovered in Mytilene and along the roads leading from it. These men are Lesbians otherwise unknown to us, Heraclides, son of Heraclides, Alexander, son of Alexander, Senatius, Elpidas, Pancarpus.²⁴ Likewise a woman, Claudia Dada (?) *ἡροῖνα*, daughter of a benefactress, was honored by the people.²⁵ One of the most surprising cases is the bestowal of the name *ἥρως* on a child who died at the age of five years, eleven months and twenty-five days. Very few instances similar to this have been found.²⁶

Of special interest in connection with these heroic honors is a round altar of the first or second century A. D. The cylindrical surface is ornamented with rams' heads, garlands and bullae. In the middle of the top surface is a cylindrical depression, evidently intended for libation; and on each side of the depression is sculptured a serpent with its head towards the cavity. The altar bears the inscription, *ὁ δᾶμος Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Κλεοτείμῳ ἥρῳι*.²⁷

²⁰ Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, pp. 191-2.

²¹ Wroth, *Cl. Rev.* *l. c.*; Echkel, *D. N.* II, p. 504; Svoronos, *l. c.*; Head, *H. N.* p. 563.

²² I. G. XII, ii, 289-92. Their names are Lucius Antonius Capito, Callicles, Matrocles and Stratippus.

²³ I. G. XII, ii, 287-8. Their names are Heroidas and Cleodamus. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* VIII, 1137.

²⁴ I. G. XII, ii, 259, 367, 414, 422, 436.

²⁵ I. G. XII, ii, 228. Paton recognizes that the reading is opposed to the identification of Claudia as wife of Caligula.

²⁶ I. G. XII, ii, 392=Report on the Investigations at Assos, Thacher-Clarke, Boston, 1882, p. 142. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* VIII, 1138. Similar cases: Thera, for a four year old girl, I. G. XII, iii, 236; Attica, I. G. III, ii, 1460.

²⁷ For a drawing see I. G. XII, ii, 286, p. 72; Conze, *op. cit.* Pl. IV, no. 5. Altar now in the school in Mytilene.

The words *ταὶς ἡρώναις*²⁸ in I. G. XII, ii, 242, probably mean the rites due to the heroic dead.

The evidence is sufficient to show, then, that in Roman times heroic honors were freely given to Lesbian citizens. By the third century A. D. the title *ἥρως* had probably lost most of its original meaning.

²⁸ Collitz, Dial. Inscr. no. 241, reads [*θυσίαις*], but the reading of the Corpus is now certain, since another piece of the stone has been found. See Paton's note, I. G. XII, ii, 242, and Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. VIII, 1130.

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Note—In the use of accents for Aeolic inscriptions the Corpus of Lesbian Inscriptions has been followed as carefully as possible. It has not seemed best, however, to write the more common epithets with Aeolic accents, even when those epithets are given by inscriptional evidence.

In listing coins which bear the symbols of the gods, those coins which have also a representation of the god are not included.

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VITA

Emily Ledyard Shields was born in Nashville, Tennessee, August 29, 1883. She received her preparatory education in the Saint Louis High School, and entered Bryn Mawr College in October, 1901. From that college she received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1905, and the degree of Master of Arts in June, 1906. During 1907-08 she studied in the University of Oxford and in the University of Berlin. In the summer of 1913 she studied at the University of Chicago. The years 1913-15 she spent at the Johns Hopkins University, pursuing courses in Classical Archaeology, Greek and Latin under Professors David M. Robinson, Basil L. Gildersleeve, Kirby Flower Smith, C. W. E. Miller, Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin and Professor Wilfred P. Mustard. In 1913-14 she was fellow and in 1914-15 fellow by courtesy. She is glad to have this opportunity to express to all the professors under whom she has studied her sincere and abiding gratitude for the great inspiration and help which they have given her. Especially she wishes to thank Professor Robinson, by whose advice this dissertation was begun, and by whose constant assistance it was completed; and also Professors Gildersleeve and Miller for their most valuable suggestions and interest.



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